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## I.—THE OXYRHYNCHUS EPITOME OF LIVY IN RELATION TO OBSEQUENS AND CASSIODORUS.

### I.

Some months since the welcome announcement was made by Grenfell and Hunt that their campaign of 1903 at Oxyrhynchus had discovered a portion of an epitome of Livy hitherto unknown. The fourth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri brings us this fragmentary epitome edited with that acute scholarship which the discoverers everywhere display; they have had also the assistance of Mr. W. Warde Fowler and of Professors Kornemann, Reid, and Wissowa. While little has escaped the attention of this group of scholars, there yet remain for discussion some interesting questions, and in one important point at least the relations of the Oxyrhynchus epitome have not yet been observed.

The portions recovered are drawn from books 37-40 and 48-55, treating events from the end of 190 to 179 B. C. and from 150 to 137 B. C. The latter period is one in which our authorities are so scanty that every fragment of new information is welcome, and the amount of new information gained, especially on points of chronology, is not small, as Grenfell and Hunt point out, p. 94.

The writing is described by the editors as 'a medium-sized upright uncial with some admixture of minuscule forms', and is dated by them as certainly not later than the beginning of the fourth century and more probably belonging to the third. The papyrus is so sadly mutilated that hardly a line remains complete, but the supplements are in part readily made. Furthermore the scribe seems to have been guilty of great carelessness and stupidity in spelling and grammar so that in some cases it is impossible to determine what stood in the original, even when the lines are unbroken. The form of this new epitome is that

of a chronicle in which each year is indicated by the names in the ablative case, followed by a bald enumeration of events in strict chronological order. In fact, the best description of the *Oxyrhynchus periochae* was unwittingly given by Mommsen in 1861, while discussing the sources of Cassiodorus's chronicle<sup>1</sup>: 'es ist ganz im Geiste der Kaiserzeit, dass man das weitläufige und viel "Ueberflüssiges" enthaltende Werk des Livius früh in einen kurz das Thatsächliche Jahr für Jahr, unter Voraustellung der Consulnamen im Ablativ, zusammenfassenden Abriss gebracht hat.' Mommsen (l. c.) also first established the fact that a considerable number of authors, not only Cassiodorus but also Vopiscus, Obsequens, Eutropius, Festus, and Idatius, drew not from Livy direct but from a lost epitome which departed at some points from its original. Zangemeister<sup>2</sup> proved that the *Periochae* and Orosius belonged to the number. Still other writers were added by Pirogoff, Droysen, Wagener, Haupt, Maurenbrecher, and Ay, and the date at which an epitome of Livy was made was carried back until Sanders<sup>3</sup> showed that Livy was certainly abridged before the end of Tiberius's reign.

The discovery therefore of an epitome corresponding in outward form so closely to the epitome postulated by Mommsen in the passage quoted, raises at once a series of interesting questions as to its relation to Livy, to the *Periochae* long known, and to the later writers who drew indirectly from Livy's complete work. Fortunately for us the first three columns of the papyrus cover the years 190-179, a period which is treated in Livy's extant books 37-40, so that we can here determine the relation of the *Oxyrhynchus periochae* to their ultimate source. The bald account of O naturally gives only facts and results and admits of no discussions or long exposition of motives. Yet all the most important events are noted. While at times phrases and clauses are repeated from Livy, there is on the whole no striking verbal agreement. O occasionally paraphrases Livy's account, as e. g. ll. 3-6 P. Licinius<sup>4</sup> [pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen Quirinalis<sup>5</sup> erat proficisci in

<sup>1</sup> Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator, p. 552, in Abh. der sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., Leipzig, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Die *Periochae* des Livius in Festschrift für die Karlsruher Philologenversammlung, Freiburg i. B. 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Die Quellencontamination im 21 und 22 Buche des Livius, 1, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> Pap. Lepidinus maximus.

<sup>5</sup> Pap. Quirinale.

Sardiniam [. . . .]ant, which reproduces Livy 37, 51, 1-3 priusquam in provincias praetores irent, certamen inter P. Licinium pontificem maximum fuit et Q. Fabium Pictorem flaminem Quirinalem, quale patrum memoria inter L. Metellum et Postumium Albinum fuerat. consulem illum cum C. Lutatio collega in Siciliam ad classem proficiscentem ad sacra retinuerat Metellus, pontifex maximus; praetorem hunc ne in Sardiniam proficisceretur, P. Licinius tenuit. Again we find mere condensation with no verbal similarity, as when l. 18 [inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta proelia covers, although inexactly, Livy 38, 30-34. An extreme case is in l. 12, where [Ambra]cia capta summarizes Livy 38, 1-9. The most striking instance in which Livy's words have been preserved is ll. 78-80 L. Livius trib(unus) pl(ebis) quod [annos nati quemque] magistratum pete[rent rogatio lata] est,<sup>1</sup> cf. Livy 40, 44, 1 eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque. Usually, however, when there is little or no condensation, O employs a different phrase from Livy, e. g. ll. 42 f. at[hletarum cer]tamina primum a Fu[lvio Nobilior]e edita, which represents Livy 39, 22, 2 athletarum . . . certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit.

When we compare O with the Periochae, we see at a glance, as Rossbach (Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, No. 31/2, 1904, col. 1020 ff.) has pointed out, that neither can be the source of the other. Not only does O chronicle more and different events than the Periochae—in the epitome of book 39, for example, O mentions at least fifteen events, eight of which are not given in the corresponding Periocha—but a comparison of the language in which the same events are reported shows that whatever their common source, that source was clearly remote. Their verbal differences may be illustrated by the story of Orgiagon's wife:

O ll. 14-17<sup>2</sup>

Origiacontis captian nobilis  
[centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a)  
erat aurum admit[t . . . .] pos-  
centem occidit caputque eius  
ad virum [secum? tulit].

## PER. 39.

exemplum quoque virtutis et  
pudicitiae in femina traditur.  
quae cum regis Gallograecorum  
fuisset, capta centurionem qui  
ei vim intulerat occidit.

<sup>1</sup> This of course must be emended with Grenfell and Hunt to read a L. Villio trib(unus) pl(ebis) quot, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The text of O is given as printed by Grenfell and Hunt unless otherwise noted.

Yet a comparison of the two stories as given above with Livy's words makes it probable that the common source of O and the Periochae was not the unabridged Livy, for his account runs thus (38, 24, 2-10): Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia . . . . . cui custodiae centurio praeerat . . . . . corpori . . . vim fecit. . . . . ubi cum aurum ostenderent . . . . mulier lingua sua stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent, imperavit. Iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens ad virum Orgiagontem . . . . . pervenit; etc.

A further illustration of the divergences between O and the Periochae may be found in the account of the defeat of Q. Fabius by Viriathus:

O ll. 185 f.

[Q.] Fabius Maximus a Viriath{i}o devictus de[f]ormem cum hostibus pacem fecit.

PER. 54.

Q. Fabius procos. rebus in Hispania prospere gestis labem imposuit pace cum Viriato aequis condicionibus facta.

There is a further striking divergence in point of style. Woelfflin, in the *Commentationes in honorem Theodori Mommseni* (1877), p. 338, pointed out that while the Periochae show a periodic style in which *qui*, *cum*, *ne*, etc. are frequently employed, the style of the complete periocha of the first book, Ia in Jahn's edition, is abrupt, chronicling events in three ways: it uses the substantive without a verb—adventus Aeneae, Tulliae scelus in patrem, Superbi expulsio; the perfect passive participle without the copula—Amulius obtruncatus, Tullus fulmine consumptus; and the perfect indicative active—Tullus Hostilius Albanos diripuit, Servio Tullio caput arsit. Rossbach (l. c., col. 1022) recognizes that O shows the same characteristic forms, e. g. l. 1 [in Hispa]nia Romani caesi, l. 11 [Ambra]cia capta, l. 212 Lusitani vastati; l. 27 [Gracchus t]rib(unus) pl(ebis) intercessit, ll. 46 f. Scipio . . . con[lata pecunia feci]t; l. 18 [inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta [pr]oelia. He therefore regards the authorship of O as identical with that of Periocha Ia, probably correctly. In any case no one can deny that the stylistic resemblance is very close.

The next question that arises is whether any intimate relation is to be found between O and the later writers who drew from an abridged Livy. That such relations undoubtedly exist, I shall immediately show; they seem, however, to have escaped the notice of Grenfell and Hunt as well as their coadjutors. First, let



us compare the list of consuls in O with that given by Cassiodorus for the corresponding years. We find at once a striking similarity between them. While in both lists the officials are generally designated by two names only, *praenomen* with the *nomen* or *cognomen*, after the fashion of the republic, in seven cases out of twenty O gives the full three names; but in four of these seven instances Cassiodorus likewise employs the complete names, so that no significance is to be attached to the other three.<sup>1</sup> But a proof of the close relationship between the two, so far as the consular list is concerned, is furnished by the names of the consuls for 149 B. C.: O l. 88, L. Marcio Censorino M. *Manlio* cos.; cf. l. 103 *Manlio*<sup>2</sup> et Marc<i> o c[os.]; Cassiodorus, L. Marcius et M. *Manlius*; the correct form is preserved by the Periocha, L. Marcio M'. *Manilio*; cf. Censorinus, *de die nat.* 17, 11 L. Marcio Censorino M'. *Manilio*.<sup>3</sup> This agreement in the error *Manlio* points to a close connection between O and Cassiodorus. While such consensus is not in itself full proof, the matter is raised to a high degree of certainty by the notice of the introduction of athletic exhibitions in the year 186 B. C.:—

O ll. 42 f.

CASSIODORUS.

At[hletarum cer]tamina pri- His cons̄s. athletarum cer-  
mum a Ful[vio Nobilior]e edita. tamina primum a Fulvio edita.

The contrast between these notices and Livy's phrase (39, 22, 2) *athletarum certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit*<sup>4</sup> shows that not only is there an intimate relation between O and Cassiodorus, but that both drew from a common source other than a complete Livy. A suggestion that Cassiodorus drew from O is rendered improbable by the difference in the names of the consuls for the year 179, and by other reasons (cf. *infra*, pp. 246 ff.). We may fairly say at once that this common source was a chronicle similar in form to that partly recovered in O but

<sup>1</sup> A single discrepancy between the two lists is found in the names of the consuls for 179 B. C. where O has Q. Fulvio M. Manlio, Cassiodorus correctly Q. Fulvius et L. Manlius. Obsequens 7 Q. Fulvio C. Manlio.

<sup>2</sup> That this is hardly a mere scribe's blunder for *Man<i>lio* is shown by the repetition. The error existed rather in the archetype of O (and of Cassiodorus). Grenfell and Hunt should not have changed to *Man<i>lio* as they have done, following the Periocha.

<sup>3</sup> The correct form is also given by Florus 1, 31, 7; Oros. 4, 22, 1; App. P. 75, 97; Zonares 9, 26; and in Eutrop. 4, 10, where P D have *Marco Mallio*, but the metaphor of Paconius shows that *Manilio* belongs in the Latin text.

<sup>4</sup> The notice is not elsewhere preserved, so far as I know.

somewhat fuller in matter. By this last hypothesis we can perhaps explain such confusions, due to condensation, as in O, l. 7, *Rhodia de soli deducta*, where apparently a notice of the founding of Bononia (Livy 37, 57, 7) has been confused with a preceding reference to the Rhodians, either to their embassy about Soli (Livy 37, 56, 7-10), as Reid thinks (*Class. Review*, July, 1904, p. 261), or to the additions made to their territory in recognition of the aid given by them to the Romans (Livy 37, 56, 5 f.).<sup>1</sup> We can thus understand the chronological confusion in ll. 17, 44 f.<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere.

Whether O and Cassiodorus drew immediately from this parent chronicle or not is a question at present beyond answer. But it is clear that in all discussions of the 'lost epitome' of Livy we must postulate a number of epitomes, all going back perhaps to the epitome used by Valerius Maximus, but furnishing various lines of descent for the later histories and chronicles. All that has thus far been determined is the not uninteresting fact that the chronicle of Cassiodorus—for the republic—and the Oxyrhynchus periochae have the same parent source to which they stand relatively near.

Mommsen long since pointed out<sup>3</sup> that Julius Obsequens and Cassiodorus drew from a common source. That this was an epitome of Livy's history, varying from it in phraseology, is evident from the following: Under the year 571/183 Cassiodorus has the notice—His consulibus Hannibal apud Prusian veneno periit; Obsequens 4, Hannibal in Bithynia veneno periit. From these we can perhaps reconstruct the notice in the source from which they drew, Hannibal apud Prusian in Bithynia veneno periit. But Livy's words are (39, 51, 7-12) Hannibal . . . . venenum . . . . poposcit . . . . poculum exhausit.<sup>4</sup> Again compare Cassiodorus 648/106, His consulibus per Servilium Cae-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Per. 37 Rhodiis quoque, qui et ipsi iuverant, quaedam civitates concessae. colonia deducta est Bononia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grenfell and Hunt's notes.

<sup>3</sup> Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator, p. 552.

<sup>4</sup> It is also clear that the immediate source of Obsequens and Cassiodorus was not that from which others drew. Cf. Per. 39 Hannibal . . . . *veneno sibi mortem conscivit*; Ampel. 34, 2 *veneno se liberavit*; Eutrop. 4, 5 Hannibal . . . *venenum bibit* et apud Libyssam . . . sepultus est, followed by Hieronymus in his chronicle, Hannibal . . . *venenum bibit* et apud Libyssam . . . . sepultus est. De viris ill. 42, 6 Hannibal *veneno absumptus est*. Oros. 4, 20, 29 Hannibal . . . *veneno se necavit*. Still more widely divergent is Appian Sy. 11 τὸν Ἀννίβαν . . . ἐκτεψε (Φλαυινίως) διὰ τοῦ Προυνσίου φαρμάκου.

pionem consulem iudicia equitibus et senatoribus communicata, with Obs. 41, Per Caepionem consulem senatorum et equitum iudicia communicata; and still further Cassiodorus 658/96 and 671/83 with Obsequens 49 and 57. It is therefore important to compare Obsequens with the Oxyrhynchus Epitome. Unfortunately only six notices are common to them, and in the case of three out of the six the text of O is badly mutilated. O ll. 64 f. Han[nibal . . . . .] fl [ . . . . .] uhe [ . . . . .], apparently contained a notice of Hannibal's death, but no comparison is possible with Obs. 4. The case is hardly better with O ll. 132-4 which have reference to the operations before Carthage in the year 147 B. C. for the text is hopelessly corrupt. Furthermore the notice in Obs. 20 cum Carthago obsideretur in captivos Romanorum per Hasdrubalem barbaro more saevitum, mox Carthago per Aemilianum diruta is apparently a careless condensation, for the fall of Carthage is placed a year too soon. There is a similar chronological error, likewise perhaps due to condensation, in Obs. 23 annus pacatus est Viriatho victo; O ll. 197 f. gives the names of the assassins, Audax Minurus <D>ita[lco . . . . .] Viriathum iugula[verunt. Neither agrees in phraseology with our other authorities: Vell. Pat. 2, 1, 3 interempto Viriatho, Val. Max. 9, 6, 4 interemptus est; Per. 54, Eutrop. 4, 6, 12, and Oros. 5, 4, 14 interfectus est; De Viris Ill. 71, 3 satellites qui Viriathum peremerunt. Compare further Obs. 19 Pseudophilippus devictus and O l. 127 [Philippus a] Metello captus est;<sup>1</sup> Obs. 3 Galli qui Alpes transierunt in Italiam sine proelio eieci and O ll. 44 f. Galli(s) in Ital[iam transgressis Ma]rcellum [p]ersuasit [ut trans Alpes redire]nt.<sup>2</sup> But if these notices exhibit no striking parallelism between O and Obsequens, it is clear that the entries in Obs. 19 and O ll. 127-9 show adherence to a common source:

## O.

## OBSEQUENS.

sacrarium [regiae et laur]us foci	vasto incendio . . . sacrarium et
maximo incendio [inviolata] <sup>3</sup>	ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis
	ignibus inviolata exstiterunt.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Per. 50 Pseudophilippus in Macedonia . . . ab Quinto Caecilio victus captusque est.

<sup>2</sup> The text is printed thus by Grenfell and Hunt. The suggestion by Reid Cl. Rev. July, 1904, p. 292, is better: Ma]rcellus [p]ersuasit [ut Italia excedere]nt.

<sup>3</sup> The text is given as restored by Roszbach, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, No. 31/2, 1904, col. 1021. The papyrus has ]us soci, etc. So far as I know, the marvel is not chronicled elsewhere.

The scanty and mutilated condition of our material, however, forces us to look further for supporting proofs of the use of the same source by Obsequens and O. First of all we find a parallelism in the chronicles of certain successes, e. g., Obs. 4 Celteberi *subacti*, 48 Celteberi Medi Dardani *subacti*; O l. 42 His]pan[i] *subacti*, 136 Lu]sitani *subacti* (pap. subalti). Obs. 11 rex Illyrici Gentius et Macedoniae Perses *devicti*, 19 Pseudophilippus *devictus*, and 24, 32, 47, 62; O l. 164 a Tyresio quem *devicit*, 185 [Q.] Fabius Maximus a Viriatho *devictus*. Cf. also Periocha la Latinos . . . *devicit*; while the Periochae regularly use the simple *vincere* (see Woelfflin, Commentationes Mommsenianae, p. 338). Furthermore, as has been observed above, there is little of the periodic style in O, such as we find in the Periochae, but instead we have brief notices given by noun without verb, perfect passive participle without copula, and by the perfect indicative. This is exactly the style of Obsequens, e. g., § 4 M. Claudio Q. Fabio Labeone coss. in area Vulcani per biduum, in ara Concordiae totidem diebus sanguinem *pluit*. in Sicilia *insula nova maritima*. Hannibal in Bithynia veneno *perit*. Celtiberi *subacti*, § 5 L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo coss. procellosa tempestas strage in urbe facta signa aenea in Capitolio *deiecit*, signa in circo maximo cum columnis *evertit*, fastigia templorum a culmine abrupta *dissipavit*. mulus tripes Reate *natus*. aedes Apollinis Caietae fulmine *icta*. Compare with this the opening lines of O: [in Hispa]nia Romani *caesi*. [M. Fulvio] Cn. Manlio cos. [ . . . . . ] § pax iterum *data est*. P. Lepidinus { maximus } [pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen [Quirin]alem erat proficisci in Sardiniam [ . . . . . ] *ant*. Ant[i]ocho regi pax *data*. Lusitani [*vastati*]. Rhodonia desoli *deducta*. [Glabrio c]ensuram petens minantes [accusa]tionem compellitoribus composito [*destitit*]. The historical notices in Cassiodorus, with rare exceptions, have the same form, e. g.—515 His consulibus ludis Romanis primum tragoedia et comoedia a Lucio Livio ad scaenam *data*; 524 His consulibus Hamilcar Hannibalis pater in Hispania bellum Romanis parans *occisus est*. Hic *solitus* dicere quattuor filios contra p. R. velut catulos leoninos <se> educare; and so passim. In view of this and of the relation long recognized between Obsequens and Cassiodorus we are justified, notwithstanding the scanty and fragmentary material at hand for a comparison between Obsequens and O, in concluding that O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus all come

from a common source to which they are more closely related than are other later historians,<sup>1</sup> as has been already indicated on p. 246 n. 4. This point will be more fully illustrated below. Furthermore, from a comparison of the three, it is evident that this source was a chronicle in which each year was designated by the names of the consuls in the ablative case;<sup>2</sup> then followed in chronological order the principal events and portents of the year, noted in the abrupt style displayed by its descendants. That the parent chronicle contained a record of portents is shown not only by Julius Obsequens, but also by the fact that O, while almost wholly given to secular matters, still records (ll. 127-9) the miraculous preservation of the *sacrarium* and the sacred laurel, and again (ll. 59-63) reports the fulfilment of a prophecy: P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis maximi] ludis fune<b>ribus [ . . . . . in foro tabernaculis po[sitis evenit id quod] nate[s c]ecin[e]rat [tabernacula . . . . .] in foro futura.

This fragmentary epitome, therefore, has brought us one step farther on in the problem of disentangling the complex interrelations of the followers of Livy. It would now be desirable to examine again the other historians and chroniclers from Valerius Maximus down in the hope of carrying on to more certain results the work of those scholars who have followed after Mommsen and Zangemeister. That is, however, too large a task to be entered on here.

## II.

As has been said above, O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus apparently drew from a chronicle not identical with the epitome (or epitomes) used by most other writers; a brief portion of the evidence for this statement has been given on p. 246 n. 4. For further illustration the two following anecdotes are well suited,

<sup>1</sup> With the possible exception of Eutropius. Vid. infra, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> As Mommsen divined, *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator*, p. 552. If the editors had apprehended the relation between O and Cassiodorus, they would have supplied the missing names of the consuls differently in some cases. E. g. 188 instead of [M. Valerio L.]ivio Salinatore cos. read with Cassiodorus [M. Messala C.] Livio Salinatore cos.; 187 instead of [M. Aemilio C. Fl.]aminio cos. read [M. Lepido C. Fl.]aminio cos.; 148 instead of [Sp. Albino L. Piso]ne cos. read [Sp. Postumio L. Piso]ne cos.; 147 instead of [P. Cornelio C. Livio] cos. read [P. Africano C. Livio] cos. (cf. also Obsequens); 144 instead of Ser. Galba L. [Cotta cos. read Ser. Galba L. [Aurelio cos. 181 P. Lentulo should not be corrected to Cornelio (or Cethego).



being given at comparative length by O and being preserved in both Livy and a number of later authors. These are the vengeance taken by Orgiagon's wife, already given, p. 243, and the cause of the expulsion of L. Quintus Flaminius from the senate. The first story, as told by O ll. 14-17, is repeated here for convenience:

Orgiacontis captian nobilis [centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a) erat aurum admit[t . . . . . ] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum [secum? tulit].<sup>1</sup>

This can best be compared first with its ultimate source, Livy, 38, 24, 2-10, and with Valerius Maximus, 6, 1, ext. 2.

## LIVY.

Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia custodiebatur inter plures captivos, cui custodiae centurio praeerat . . . is . . . corpori . . . vim fecit. . . . certo auri pondere pactus . . . . locum prope flumen constituit . . . . nocte insequenti et duo necessarij mulieris ad constitutum locum et centurio cum captiva venit. ubi cum aurum ostenderent . . . , mulier lingua sua stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent, imperavit. iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens ad virum Orgiagontem . . . . pervenit; . . . caput centurionis ante pedes eius abiecit . . . . et iniuriam corporis et ultionem violatae per vim pudicitiae confessa viro est.

## VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Orgiagontis reguli uxor mirae pulchritudinis a centurione, cui custodienda tradita erat stuprum pati coacta

postquam ventum est in eum locum in quem centurio misso nuntio necessarios mulieris pretium, quo eam redimerent, adferre iusserat, aurum expendente centurione et in eius pondus animo oculisque intento Gallograecis lingua gentis suae imperavit ut eum occiderent. interfecti deinde caput abscisum manibus retinens ad coniugem venit, abiectoque ante pedes eius iniuriae et ultionis suae ordinem exposuit.

It is evident at a glance that the amount of verbal agreement between the Livy and Valerius Maximus's derivative account is great: there are trifling divergences in phrase and construction, but they are of little significance; still less the use of the classic

<sup>1</sup> Printed thus by Grenfell and Hunt.

*expendo* for Livy's *penso* and *abscido* for *praecido*. The words *et in eius pondus animo oculisque intento* are only a rhetorical touch for Livy's *cum aurum ostenderent*, etc. We must remember that Valerius Maximus was no copyist like Cassiodorus or Jordanes. So far as this single anecdote goes, it would be unnecessary to suppose that he drew from any source but Livy's original account.<sup>1</sup>

When we turn to O, whose author was on a very different literary plane from Valerius Maximus, and compare it with the two older accounts, we find a certain divergence in form of expression. For Livy's *corpori vim fecit* and Valerius Maximus's *stuprum pati coacta* O has the eclectic phrase, so to speak, *cuius vim passa erat*; and passing by the following words, which are perhaps hopelessly corrupt,<sup>2</sup> the simple *occidit* outdoes Livy and Valerius Maximus in making the outraged woman avenge her wrong with her own hands. In this point O and the Periocha agree.

Per. 38 *exemplum quoque virtutis et pudicitiae in femina traditur. quae cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset, capta centurionem qui ei vim intulerat occidit.*

Although this agrees with O in the point just noted, it differs from it—as from Valerius Maximus and Livy—by shifting the emphasis through *cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset* in place of the direct statement, as well as by a slightly varying phraseology, *qui ei vim intulerat* instead of *cuius vim passa erat*. Especially to be noted is the fact that the Periocha makes no mention of the ransom or of the ghastly proof of her revenge which the princess carried to her husband.

The account given by Florus, and by Jordanes who follows Florus exactly, is as follows: Florus 1, 27, 6. *Orgiacontis regis uxor a centurione stuprum passa memorabili exemplo custodiam evasit revolsunquē adulteri hostis caput ad maritum reportavit.*

Here, too, no mention is made of the ransom, but on the contrary we are told that the queen escaped and carried her violator's head with her; and it is worth while to note that Florus has substituted the more vivid *revellere* for *abscido* and *praecido* of the earlier accounts.

<sup>1</sup>Of course this is not to call into question Sanders' conclusions (*Die Quellencontamination*, pp. 45 ff.) that Valerius Maximus used an epitome of Livy.

<sup>2</sup>Unless indeed we adopt Rossbach's plausible emendation (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* No. 31-2, 1904, col. 1020), *aurum ad (se) mit[tendum] poscentem*. If this be right, we have marked departure from Livy in the facts.

Finally we have the story told by the unknown author of the *De Viris Illustribus* 55, 2: inter captivos uxor regis Ortiagontis centurioni cuidam in custodiam data; a quo vi stuprata de iniuria tacuit; et post impetrata redemptione marito adulterum interficiendum tradidit.

This writer has departed yet more widely from his predecessors in recording the woman's cleverness, *de iniuria tacuit*, and in transferring the punishment of the centurion from his victim to her husband.

Now the comparison between these five accounts shows unquestionably that all were based ultimately on Livy, who in his turn drew from Polybius (ap. Plut. *mul. virt.* p. 258 E-F). Yet after all allowance has been made for the individualities of the several authors as shown in choice of material and expression, it is clear that all do not stand equally close to their source: the first place belongs to Valerius Maximus; next we have O and the Periocha, independent of each other and not drawn from the same immediate source as is proved by content and style;<sup>1</sup> and finally Florus and the *De Viris Illustribus* are most remote. But what is chiefly significant for us at the present moment is that, so far as we may judge from this single anecdote, the differences between O and the Periocha, Florus, and *De Viris Illustribus* make it improbable that the direct source of O was that from which the others drew.<sup>2</sup>

This view is supported by a comparison of the several accounts of the expulsion of L. Quintius Flaminius from the senate. The mutilated text of O is as follows:

O ll. 52-57. L. Quintius Fla[minius . . . .] Gallia quod Philippo [Poeni scorto] suo desiderante gladia[torium specta]-culum sua manu Boiu[m<sup>3</sup> nobilem occiderat] a M. Catone<sup>4</sup> cen-[sore] senatu motus est].

It will be convenient to give the other accounts at once:

Livy 39, 42, 5-43, 3. Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius . . . . septem moverunt senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. supra pp. 243 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus is naturally excluded from consideration here by his date. It may be said in passing that it is also by no means certain that the Periocha, Florus, and *De Viris Illustribus* drew from the same direct source. There are many differences between them similar to those noted above which seem to point to divergent lines of tradition. Cf. Sanders, *Die Quellencontamination*.

<sup>3</sup> Pap. Bonu[m].

<sup>4</sup> Pap. lanatone.

et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flaminium consularem . . . . . obiecit (sc. Cato) ei Philippum Poenum, carum et nobile scortum, ab Roma in Galliam provinciam spe ingentium donorum perductum. eum puerum, per lasciviam cum cavillaretur, exprobrare consuli persaepe solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorum abductus ab Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori vendicaret. forte epulantibus iis, cum iam vino incaluissent, nuntiatum in convivio esse, nobilem Boium cum liberis transfugam venisse: convenire consulem velle, ut ab eo fidem praesens acciperet. introductum . . . . adloqui consulem coepisse. inter cuius sermonem Quinctius scorto "vis tu," inquit, "quoniam gladiatorum spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem videre?" et cum is vixdum serio adnuisset, ad nutum scorti consulem stricto gladio . . . . loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde fugienti . . . . latus transfodisse. Valerius Antias . . . aliud argumentum . . . peragit. Placentiae famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret, in convivium accersitam scribit; ibi iactantem sese scorto inter cetera rettulisse, . . . . quam multos capitis damnatos in vinculis haberet, quos securi percussurus esset. tum illam infra eum adcubantem negasse umquam vidisse quemquam securi ferientem et pervelle id videre. hic indulgentem amatorem unum ex illis miseris adtrahi iussum securi percussisse.

Per. 39 a censoribus L. Valerio Flacco et M. Porcio Catone . . . . motus est senatu L. Quinctius Flamininus, T. frater, eo quod cum Galliam provinciam consul obtineret, rogatus a Poeno Philippo quem amabat, scorto nobili, Gallum quendam sua manu occiderat sive, ut quidam tradiderunt, unum ex damnatis securi percusserat rogatus a meretrice Placentina, cuius amore deperibat.

Sen. Cont. 9, 2 praef. Flamininus proconsul inter cenam a meretrice rogatus, quae aiebat se numquam vidisse hominem decollari, unum ex damnatis occidit.

Hier. in Matt. 2, 14 Legimus in Romana historia Flaminium ducem Romanum quod accubanti iuxta meretriculae latus quae nunquam se vidisse diceret hominem decollatum, assensus sit ut reus quidam capitalis criminis in convivio truncaretur, a censoribus pulsum curia.

Val. Max. 2, 9, 3 Sicut Porcius Cato L. Flaminium, quem e numero senatorum sustulit, quia in provincia quendam damnatum securi percusserat tempore supplicii ad arbitrium et spectaculum mulierculae, cuius amore tenebatur, electo.

De Viris Ill. 47, 4 Censor (sc. Cato) L. Flaminium consularem senatu movit, quod ille in Gallia ad cuiusdam scorti spectaculum eductum quendam e carcere in convivio iugulari iussisset.

Plutarch, Cato 17 and Titus 18, follows Livy on the whole but shows the influence of Cicero, C. M. 42. He says in both passages—too long to quote here—that at a dinner Flamininus had one of those already condemned killed to please Philip, referring to Cicero as his authority; but he notes that Livy also says that the victim was a refugee and that Flamininus killed him with his own hand. In Titus 18 Valerius Antias is also quoted (from Livy) as saying that this was done to please a meretrix, not Philip. Plutarch therefore need not be considered further here. As for the other accounts it will be readily seen that the Periocha here reproduces Livy most completely; that Seneca and St. Jerome are closely related, using the unusual *decollare* for Livy's *securi percutere*; and that Valerius Maximus and the De Viris Ill. show no striking affinity with any other author.

Omitting however all minor points, we must note primarily that O gives the first half of the story only, while Valerius Maximus, Seneca, De Viris Ill., and St. Jerome confine themselves to the second half. It may properly be urged that such difference in choice does not in itself show difference in direct source, that the original of the five accounts may have contained both versions, may indeed have been the original of the Periocha, and that O took one half while the rest chose the other. This would be entirely possible, if the question depended on this anecdote alone. It is here significant, however, that O follows Livy more closely than the Periocha does in giving the reason for Flamininus's action—Philippo [Poeni scorto] suo desiderante gladiat[orium specta]culum, and also in telling us that the victim was a Boian. Cf. Per. Gallum quendam. The others naturally make him one of those already condemned. Finally, judging from the few cases which we can control, we can hardly attribute to the author of O any literary talent whatsoever beyond that of the copyist; it is therefore highly probable that O reproduces its source pretty closely.

Although absolute certainty in this matter cannot be attained with the scanty material at hand, the comparison just made of these two notices in O with the accounts given elsewhere, as well as the evidence adduced, p. 246 n. 4, makes it very probable that the parent chronicle of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus was not the



source from which Florus, the author of *De Viris Ill.*, or St. Jerome drew. Seneca and Valerius Maximus might probably be excluded on chronological grounds, even if the differences shown did not exist. For the *Periochae* (and for Appian) the evidence is abundant.<sup>1</sup>

Reinhold, *das Geschichtswerk des Livius als Quelle späterer Historiker*, Berlin, 1898, p. 13 comes to the conclusion that Eutropius, Festus, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus all drew from a chronicle which was itself derived from an epitome on which the *Periochae* and Orosius were based. It is impossible to discuss here the validity of his arguments; but this much may be said, that while Eutropius's work has in large measure the form of a chronicle, and although there are striking parallels between Eutropius and Cassiodorus which point to a close relationship between the two, it is fairly certain that the former used more than a single source in his history of the republic—the only part that concerns us here. Unfortunately O and Eutropius have little in common, but a comparison of O ll. 90–97 with Eutrop. 4, 10 and of O ll. 197–202 with Eutrop. 4, 16 certainly suggests that a re-examination of the evidence might not be unprofitable, for in neither case do the passages give evidence of near relationship.

Any attempt to assign a date for the composition of the parent chronicle of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus can be of little value. Scholars are still far from agreed as to the date of the *Periochae*. Grenfell and Hunt, p. 93, assign the compilation of O to the second or third century. Its source need not have been much earlier.<sup>2</sup>

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Sept. 12, 1904.

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<sup>1</sup> Further proof may be obtained by comparing O ll. 89–97 on the beginning of the Third Punic War with *Per.* 52–53; *App. Pun.* 75 ff.; *Florus* 1, 31, 7 ff.; *Eutrop.* 4, 10; *Oros.* 4, 22, 1–7. O ll. 197–202 on the killing of Viriathus with *Vell. Pat.* 2, 1, 3; *Val. Max.* 9, 6, 4; *App. Iber.* 71; *Florus* 1, 33, 15–17; *Eutrop.* 4, 16; *De Viris Ill.* 71; *Oros.* 5, 4, 1; *Per.* 54; *Dio Cass. frg.* 80; etc.

<sup>2</sup> This article was in type before Kornemann's note in No. 37 of the *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift* reached me, in which he announces that he has discovered the relationship of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus shown above, and promises to present soon the detailed proofs. That the same results have been obtained by two independent workers is a gratifying warrant of their validity.

## II.—ON THE RECESSION OF THE LATIN ACCENT IN CONNECTION WITH MONOSYLLABIC WORDS AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.

### PART II.

#### THE LATIN ACCENT AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.

In a previous paper I sought to emphasize the fact that a very great number of Latin word-combinations possess recessive accentuation, and hence, in accordance with current usage, may properly be classed among the Latin 'separable' or 'improper' *composita*. This form of statement is not, however, sufficiently clear, and it seems worth while to define more precisely the conditions under which a recessive accent arises in the Latin sentence, and to illustrate the actual process by some concrete examples. It is probable, for example, that most Latin scholars, if asked to explain the recessive accent in *transfero* or *trans fero* (as it is not infrequently written in the Roman word-division), would say that the accent is *tráns fêro*, and not *trans fêro*, because we have to deal here with a compound verb and cases of genuine composition require a recessive accentuation. Thus the whole explanation is commonly made to turn upon the process of *composition*, as though in this process we had reached the primary cause of accentual change and did not need to examine also into the effects of simple juxtaposition. So far, however, as concerns those classical languages which possess a recessive accent-system, such an assumption is wholly unscientific.<sup>1</sup> An historically correct statement must be somewhat as follows: The accent is recessive in *trans fero*, because a *traditional word-order*, i. e., a preferred and usual word-order, had been established already in I. E., in accordance with which certain adverbs, the so-called verbal prefixes, were commonly placed immediately before the verb (Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* V, p. 44 f.).<sup>2</sup> In prehistoric Latin this traditional word-order

<sup>1</sup> For the value and meaning of composition, cf. the references given above, A. J. P. XXV 158.

<sup>2</sup> That is, in I. E. and also in Sanskrit these adverbs (prepositions) held precisely the same relation to the verb that the negatives *non*, *ne*, *nec* and *haud* hold to the Latin verb; cf. Delbrück, l. l., IV 147: "Es war also das Ver-

had no doubt gained still further at the expense of the occasional order, but apparently an invariable order had not been established for any of these combinations; cf. *ob vos sacro, sub vos placo* Festus 190, 2 M. During the Latin historical period, however, the traditional word-order became virtually an invariable order in the case of some of the prefixes, as in *trans fero*. No process of composition has, however, taken place originally in any of these verbs, but only juxtaposition, and, from the purely technical point of view, Victor Henry (Comp. Gramm.<sup>2</sup>, Engl. tr., p. 173) is quite right in refusing to admit the existence of any genuine compound verbs in Greek and Latin; in like manner what Stolz (Hist. Gramm. I 404) observes of the combinations *denuo, ilico, profecto*, etc., applies equally to these so-called verbal compounds: "das eigentliche charakteristische Moment der Zusammensetzung fehlt bei diesen Verbindungen." Hence the combinations with *ante, post*, etc., in an adverbial sense, i. e., *anteparta* (cf. *postpartor*, Pl.), *antedicta, contradicta, infrascripta* (Inscrr.), *postgeniti* (v. still other examples in Stolz, l. l., 398), though they are regarded with disfavor by many editors of classical texts, are yet, in point of fact, as good Latin 'compounds' as the majority of the verbs in question. Indeed, provided the traditional order can be fully established, it is not even necessary that the two parts of a Latin 'compound' should belong to the same clause, e. g., *nimirum = nisi, mirum est* (Ribbeck, Latein. Partik., p. 17).

h $\ddot{a}$ ltniss der Negation zum verbum finitum dasselbe wie das Verh $\ddot{a}$ ltniss der Pr $\ddot{a}$ position, es trat keine Zusammensetzung der Negation mit dem Verbum ein, aber eine enge Verbindung zwischen der Negation und der einzelnen Verbalform. Dieses Verh $\ddot{a}$ ltniss hat sich in den europ $\ddot{a}$ ischen Sprachen bei einigen Verben behalten. Im Lateinischen geh $\ddot{o}$ rt hierher namentlich *nescio, nequeo, nolo* [aus \**nevolo*], im Slavischen die Verben welche bedeuten *sein, haben, wollen, wissen*;" cf. also Hirt, Der Indogermanische Akzent, p. 171. It is with good reason then that we not only have in Latin the accents *n $\acute$ queo, n $\acute$ scio, n $\acute$ clego, n $\acute$ cuter, h $\acute$ uscio, n $\acute$ nnihil*, etc., but, as will be shown later, we have, if the negation is prefixed to iambic verbs, regularly *n $\acute$ on queo, n $\acute$ on facis, n $\acute$ que agis*, etc.; thus the old rule has been very largely preserved in Latin as well as in Lithuanian and Slavic, that "die Negation steht auf einer Linie mit den Pr $\ddot{a}$ verbien" (Hirt, l. l., p. 306). If no Latin verbal *composita* are formed with *non* itself, this is chiefly due to the late development of this particular negation; cf., however, *nonnulli, nonnumquam*, etc., and, in Inscrr., *nonlicebit, nondebuerunt* (Corssen II 881). I may add that we apparently still find in early Latin some traces of the free I. E. position of the negative in relation to the verb; for in Tru. 877 all recent editors read *ne facere si velim* for the MS *re facere* (cf. Habich, De negationum usu Plaut., p. 29), although in Mo. 124 *reparcunt* (BCD) is usually retained (*neparcunt* L).

I have said that an invariable order was finally established in Latin in the case of some of the verbal prefixes; in perhaps the majority of cases, however, the order never became even approximately invariable, especially in the case of the prefixes *ante*, *circum*, *inter*, *praeter*, *post*, *super*, etc., which form in general only separable *composita*. Yet it is easy to show from Latin verse and from the grammarians that the accent was as strongly recessive in those combinations like *super erit*, *antē tulit*, *circum dedit*, which possess only a traditional order, as in those which have gained an invariable order like *trans fero*. The Latin recessive accent is not due then primarily to the process of 'genuine composition', but it is due to the traditional word-order, which includes genuine composition and much more besides. Thus the verbal prefixes are far from being the only words which may be used to exemplify the I. E. traditional word-order and its effects. Of all the I. E. word-orders the best-known is that in accordance with which the object immediately precedes the verb (Delbrück, l. l., III 24), and the question is entirely legitimate whether, in cases where the object-accusative precedes an iambic verb like *velim*, the accent recedes or not. In fact, we find evidence that both the accent *aquám-velim* and the accent *áquam vélim* were here known; for Plautus allows such apparent double iambic verse-closes as Am. 1058 *áquám-velim*; Au. 417 *cócúm-decet*; Cas. 395 *lúcrúm-facit*; cf. Inc. inc. fab. 92 R. com. *misericórdiám-rogat* (Klotz, Grundz., p. 244; Hauler, Einl. Phor., p. 38 n. 1), thus treating these combinations as quadrisyllabic words. Similarly, although the word-order is far from invariable (e. g. often *dare operam*, *operam . . . dare*, also *agis nugas* Ci. 581), we find Lachmann's law regularly observed in *operám-datís*, *-damús*, *-daté*, *-daré*;<sup>1</sup> *nugás-agis*, *-agít* (10 times; examples in Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 81); hence Lindsay's view of the admissible character of the accents *fidém-do*, *coctúm-dabo*, *factúm-volo*, *missám-face* (Journal of Phil. XX 147; The Captivi, p. 369) seems a probable

<sup>1</sup> With the single exception, Ba. 98 *operám-dáré* (troch.); anap. is St. 311 *operám-dáttis*. The accent *operám-do*, etc., is well attested by the critical feet viz., As. 449 *operám das*; Per. 372; Ph. 87;—but was not the only accent in use, as Men. 1009 *óperam da<sup>bo</sup> et*, and also in 1st ft., as Ba. 103 *óperam da<sup>bo</sup>*. [I use '1st ft.' throughout in the meaning '1st ft. of a colon'; also numerals written below the line indicate iambic verse; written in the line, trochaic verse.] *Pessúm dare* (9 times) has both an invariable order and accent in the dramatists.

one. Cf. also the pronominal combinations originally containing an oblique case, which are often written as one word, i. e. *quod-lubet*, *quoilubet*, *quolubet*, *quidvis* (Prehn, Pronom. Indef., p. 28 f.), *quidvoles*, *quidvolet*, etc., and observe the vowel-weakening seen in *simus* and *libet* for *sumus* and *lubet* respectively (Lindsay, L. L., p. 29). Many indications show, however, that the separate accentuation, as in *âquam vélîm*, was much more usual in such cases, e. g. the non-observance of Lachmann's law in examples like Ep. 691 *morâm fâcis*, *quom égo*; cf. also As. 380 *offîcium fâcis*, etc.

It is in connection, however, with certain special classes of words which were pronounced in close connection with the following word, that the effects of the traditional word-order are best seen, viz., the pronouns, the conjunctions, the prepositions and monosyllabic words in general. The case of the monosyllables and the prepositions will be treated here<sup>1</sup>. If the dialogue verse of the dramatists be examined with reference to those I. E. word-orders which place the monosyllabic object pronouns or the monosyllabic sentence-introducing conjunctions and pronouns<sup>2</sup>—also the subject pronouns—before the verb, we shall find that in all these cases the recession of the accent is fairly complete. For we not only always find in a tribrach sequence *quôd édîs, út âîs*, etc., but in dactylic and cretic sequences all combinations like *quod facis*, *quae cupis*, *id petis*, *si sapis*, *hoc age*, *non queo*, *id scio*, *te volo*, *te rogo*, *ne time*, etc., are subjected with remarkable strictness to the difficult law of Lachmann respecting the use of dactylic and cretic word-forms<sup>3</sup>, i. e., except in the first foot of a colon, such combinations can enter the verse only in the form *quôdfacis*,

<sup>1</sup> For a separate treatment of the dissyllabic pronouns and conjunctions, v. my article in the forthcoming volume of the Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> The conjunctions, when followed immediately by the verb, often form a complete sentence, as *si-sapis*, *si-facis*, and the accent of the more frequent combinations is extended by analogy; cf. also the I. E. 'enclisis' of the verb in this position (Hirt, l. l., 307 ff.), which has perhaps been preserved in Latin. Similarly in the case of clauses which consist only of subject and verb, the subject-pronoun precedes the verb (Delbrück, III 13), e. g. *tú-facis*; in general, the word-order subject + verb must be recognized as sometimes causing recession in Latin, as in the verse-closes Poe. 447 *quando âmór-iubet*; Tri. 533 *ille ágér-fuit*.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly even in Phaedrus (I 10, 9 *pérdidisse quôd-petís*) *quod-petis* counts as a trisyllabic word in justifying an app. double iambic verse-close, and Havet's correction (ed. Phaed., p. 181) is needless.



*sisapis, nēpavē, nōnpotēst, utdecēt, utsolēs, quām r[em] agis, quid t[u] ais*, etc., and not at all in the form *quōd fācis, nē pāvē, nōn potēst*; very rarely as *quod fācis, id vōlo*, etc. Finally, by extension of usage, the accent recedes upon any monosyllabic pronoun or adverb prefixed to the verb, i. e. *tibi aūt, hīnc-agis, iam-scio*; the analogy of the very numerous verbal *composita* like *pervidet* may perhaps have been an important factor here. It should further be noted that these conclusions which we have reached respecting the accented character of monosyllabic pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs prefixed to the verb, and which are equally true for prefixed pyrrhic pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs, e. g., always *bēne-volō, bēne facis, ita scio, ēgo-scio* (see below p. 269), *nēque volo*, and never *bene fācis, ego scio*, etc.<sup>1</sup>, are in general agreement with the probable history of Latin verbal accentuation. Thus, according to Hirt, *Indog. Akz.*, p. 171, it is extremely likely that Latin originally retained the extensive I. E. 'enclisis' of the verb and constantly accented the prefixed adverb<sup>2</sup>, as appears from verbal forms like *conficio*, earlier *\*cōn facio*, although in historical Latin, to be sure, the accentuation of the prefixed monosyllable or pyrrhic word is limited to those cases which are permitted by the three and four-syllable laws.

The preceding statement may seem to assign too great a role to an abstract traditional word-order and to take too little account of concrete cases. I have purposely chosen it as the most convenient form of expression, but the principle actually involved in the process is probably this: that in every traditional word-order so many familiar word-groups like *quid agis, quod ames*,

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions to this tendency are very few, viz., in the 1st ft., *Cas. 54 sibi fōre*; *Mi. 117 ubi sūmus*; *Mer. 778*. Within the verse I have noted only: *Mi. 36 ehem, scio*; *Nov. com. fr. 93 age mōve te*; the foll. constitute no real exception: *Per. 190 sēd-ita vo<sup>o</sup>lo te*; *Au. 608 tū-modo ca<sup>o</sup>ve*; *Mo. 20*. It is true that—owing partly to the recessive tendency, partly to other causes—the disposition to prefer  $\acute{\circ}\circ$ ,  $\circ\acute{\circ}$  to  $\circ\circ$ ,  $\acute{\circ}\circ$  is general in dramatic verse, but I do not think that I am mistaken in saying that this tendency reaches its height in connection with the verb and in combinations like *mēus pater* (Lindsay, *The Captivi*, p. 369<sup>2</sup>), *ērus meus, ērus tuos* (*erus mēus* only in anap. and in 1st ft. iamb. and bacch.; no real exception is *Per. 259 nām-erus mēus*; in *Cur. 177* either *quōd-meus ērus* or *quod me<sup>o</sup>us ērus* is possible); cf. also Luchs, *Comm. Pros. II 13<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>2</sup> For other traces of this I. E. 'enclisis,' cf. Hirt, l. l., p. 307: Im germanischen Alliterationsvers ist gewöhnlich ein selbständiges Adverbium höher betont als das Verbum, e. g. Ags. *siþþ beran*.

*quod facis* must arise with a recessive accent that a general type is eventually established, to which the accent even of rare combinations is made to conform.<sup>1</sup> Quite similarly, in the case of rare verbal *composita* like *exhibeo* (only Mi. 832) or even *expūto*, the recessive accent really exists because the more frequent combinations like *effero*, *expeto*, etc., have first established a general accentual type. With this explanation of my meaning, I shall continue to refer to an abstract traditional order.

The demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns also possess an I. E. traditional word-order, i. e., they are as a rule prefixed<sup>2</sup> to their substantive (Delbrück, l. l., III 35). Here also we find not only always *quis erūs*, *hic equos*, *hic homo*, but also with very few exceptions, *quis-modūs*, *hic-locūs*, *hic-diēs*, etc.; for examples of a similar usage in other I. E. languages, cf. Hirt, l. l., p. 324. Two other traditional orders show, at least in the sensitive tribrach sequence, a complete recession: (1) The personal and demonstrative pronouns and pronominal adverbs attach themselves to the sentence-introducing conjunctions and pronouns (Kämpf, Pronom. Personal., pp. 36, 31), i. e. *séd ego*, *quis ea*, *nisi ita*, etc. (2) The subject-noun attaches itself directly to the S.-I. conjunctions and pronouns (Delbrück, l. l., V 16, 23), i. e. *ét erus*, *séd erus*. This habit has apparently been extended also to the oblique cases of the noun in this position, and since all such cases involve Wackernagel's toneless 'second position', we have here also perhaps the retention of an I. E. 'enclisis'. The cases which have been so far mentioned are all of them closely connected with traditional orders; on the other hand, owing to the free position which belongs to the *adverb*<sup>3</sup> in the sentence, nearly all adverbial combinations show a variable accent

<sup>1</sup> In many cases the retention of an original I. E. 'enclisis' is also possible, and in some cases it is highly probable.

<sup>2</sup> Just so Priscian, Keil III 31, 5, observes at some length that certain usually 'prefixed' words, such as the pronoun *hic* (e. g. *hic homo*) and the prohibitive *ne*, belong in almost the same category as the prepositions, which are the prefixed words (*praepositiones*) κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and for the accent of which see below (p. 262).

<sup>3</sup> The adverb, being loosely connected with the verb which it modifies, freely varies in position; examples in Braune, *Observ. gramm.*, pp. 12, 33, 60; cf. Leo, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges.*, 1895, p. 428: "Eine sehr lose Verbindung geht das Adverbium mit dem Verbum, das es bestimmt, eine minder lose mit dem Nomen oder Adverbium ein"; examples of the latter in Braune, pp. 12, 25, 51.

and no observance of Lachmann's law, e. g. Ba. 363 *sí mäg's úsus*; Ad. 708 *quí mäg's mórem*; Ru. 218 *quí m'nūs s'ervio*; Cur. 622 *te² male p'erdāt*; Poe. 16, etc.; also Ad. 701 *ni mäg's*; Cap. 430; we find always, however, in association with the adjective or adverb *tām-citō*, *tāmdiu*, *tām-malē*.

There is at least one great traditional Latin word-order, which is not wholly of I. E. origin, but is in large part the result of later development; viz., the order in accordance with which the preposition is prefixed to its case. Here also the accent regularly receded; for in tribrach sequences the dramatists accent always *in opus*, and in dactylic and cretic sequences they obey strictly Lachmann's law, i. e. *ā patrē*, *in marē* (*immarē*), *inforō*, *sūm-manūs* (cf. *ēmtibī*, *vāemihī*, *sūo-sibī*, etc.), and only in the first foot either *ā patrē* or *a patrē*, etc. Thus if we take a separable *compositum* like *apatrē*, we shall be able to note the observance of the Lachmann-Ritschl law in the most minute and delicate particulars. For this form must either be placed in the verse-close, i. e. *ā patrē*, or it must stand within the verse (1) as *āpatrē*; (2) as *āpatrē* (St. 71, P and ed. min.)<sup>1</sup>; (3) as *āpatr[e]* <sup>~</sup>. The shorts of *āpatrē* can neither in whole nor in part be used to form a resolved thesis, and if elision occur, the ultima must be elided into an accented syllable; thus the penult [*a*] *patr[e]*, [*in*] *for[o]* is doubly incapacitated from acting as a Brevis Brevians.<sup>2</sup> Similarly it may be shown from Ahlberg's collection that, after a

<sup>1</sup> This is a permissible license in the case of all dactylic words (cf. Leo on As. 250; Men. 762, and cf. even Maurenbrecher, Hiatus, p. 203 f.), for the reason that the regular verse-treatment of dactylic words gives a sufficient clew to the reading of the verse independently of quantity; cf. also Per. 398 *vél-facē*; Eu. 12 *quí-petīt*, unde *is*; e' al.

<sup>2</sup> *Ā* (*cūm*, *dē*, *ex*, *prō*) *patrē* occur 13 times in middle of verse with elision into an acute (Cas. 36; Men. 1112; 1113; Mo. 1127; Ps. 730; Tri. 771; 785; Vid. 115; And. 653; Hau. 235; Ad. 951; Ph. 607; 879), 12 times in verse-close (Ba. 665; Men. 31; Mer. 64; 68; Poe. 65; Tri. 741; 775; 778; Tru. 649; And. 252; Acc. fr. 654; Afran. fr. 310); *dē patrē*, etc., with long penult, of course occurs later (Sen. H. F. 446; Thy. 310). Also *dd* (*in*, etc.) *marē* occurs 4 times with elision *m. v.* (Ba. 458; Mer. 354; 371; Ru. 295), 4 times *ult. v.* (Poe. 627; Ru. 34; 898; Tru. 564), while we find *in mārē* (cf. *pectōrē*) once: Tru. 565 *hoc in mārē abīt*. *ē sene*, *cane*, *lare*, *grege*, *sale*, *love* occur 5 times with elision *m. v.* (Cas. 320; Ps. 871; Ad. 362; Hau. 1036; Laber, fr. 110), 6 times *ult. v.* (Am. 1125; Tri. 208; Per. 267; Mi. 966; Hau. 759; perioch. 10). No exception is Tri. 152 *attriā-mēlia* (numeral + subst.), nor Tri. 940 *a'd cāpūt āmnis* (1st ft.), but we find Hec. 842 *in breve*, also once in 1st ft. e *nūce*, Cur. 55, and in general we find *ad fōr[um]* (Ps. 1230, usually

preposition, an iambic word is excluded absolutely from the arsis of the proceleusmaticus, i. e. never *apud erum*, *apud forum*, *sine modo*, *sine malo*, *super annu*, *quod in manu*, but always *apud-erum*, *apud-forum*, *sine-modo*, *quod in manu*. As shown in the example *quod in manu* (Tri. 914; cf. *séd optume, épistulam*), the accent, in accordance with its general tendency, may sometimes recede still further, but it may not move forward, as in *quod in manu*. It should be added that the absence of vowel-weakening in the prepositional *composita* is due chiefly to the free occurrence of tmesis-forms (e. g. *á bono patre*), since, wherever the tmesis-forms are excluded, vowel-weakening freely occurs, e. g. *per annos* (*per . . . annos*), but *perennis*; *per agros*, but *peregre*; *quotannis* (adv.), but *quotennis* (adj.); *in loco* (*in . . loco*), but *ilico*. Finally, this 'enclitic' attachment of the noun to the preposition was, according to Hirt (l. l., 43, 299 ff.) a familiar construction in I. E. Both Germanic and Greek (cf. *ἐπίταν*, *ὑπέρμορον*, *διάτριχα*, etc.) preserve some traces of the construction, and Slavic has retained the old rule in actual use to the present day. In primitive Italian, according to v. Planta, Osk.-Umbr. Gramm. I 597, the preposition received the tone and the noun was apparently in all cases 'enclitic'. In historical Latin the old 'enclisis' is preserved not only in many combinations stereotyped as adverbs, e. g. *denuo*, *sedulo*, *ilico*, *comminus*, *eminus*, *protinus*, *antea*, *interea*, *interdiu*, *intervias*, *profecto*,<sup>1</sup> etc., but as a rule in all combinations of prep. and iambic noun.<sup>2</sup>

The recessive accentuation continued here throughout the classical age (cf. Quintil. I 5, 25 ff.; Annianus ap. Gell. VI 7). True, as we have already seen (A. J. P. XXV 151), the processes of 'recomposition', which give rise to *commando* for *commendo*, *\*de novo* (Fr. de nouveau) for *denuo*, etc., existed to a limited

corrected on other grounds, cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 83) and *cum ma'lt* (Ru. 923, in free troch. (?) oct., just as in immediately preceding line *susci'tet*) only as we find *pectore* and *pectori*; for cases of latter outside 1st ft., cf. Klotz, Grundz., 63, 277 vs. Ahlberg, Corrupt. iamb., 46.

<sup>1</sup> In Pl.'s time often still *profecto*, as shown especially by the procel. Ps. 201: *id tibi pro'fecto*; cf. also St. 614 *per hōrtu'm*.

<sup>2</sup> This is the view now generally held by critical students of the Latin accent; see especially the excellent observations of Vendryes, *L'intensité initiale*, Paris, 1902, p. 108. In V.'s view also we have forms like *admodum*, *affatim*, instead of *\*admidum*, *\*affitim*, because their 'composition' or 'recomposition' is subsequent to the period when the law of vowel-weakening was effective; 'recomposition' seems to me here the important factor.

extent even in the earliest period, but they long remained of secondary importance and did not actually gain the mastery before the late Romance period. In the fifth century the recessive accent appears to have been still predominant; for the grammarians repeatedly class ordinary prepositional phrases like *cismare* and *in locum* among the *composita* in the same manner as *conficio*, *omnipotens*, etc. (Charisius, Keil, I 17, 3; Diom. I 436, 15; Dositheus, VII 389, 4; ib. 409, 27, etc.<sup>1</sup>). Their disputes show also that *et tamen*, *sét tamen*, *et quidem*<sup>2</sup> and apparently *et mihi*<sup>3</sup> were still in actual use.

The verse of the quantitative poets to the latest age bears the same testimony to the general recession of the primary accent; thus often Lucil., Pompon., and Novius (B. C. 90), as Pomp. 66 a<sup>6</sup>ge anus; Nov. 50 u<sup>6</sup>bi ego; also Laber. 13 quém ego; CLE.

<sup>1</sup>So also, notwithstanding Gell. VI 7, *af fátim* was not the only accent in this period; for Priscian, III 75, 7 K., writes: 'affátim' a Graeco ἀφάρως, unde et corripitur 'fa', showing that some pronounced *áf fátim*, others *af fátim*. Further, while the imitation of the Greek rules for the accent of prepositions often creates the greatest confusion in the set statements of the grammarians on this subject (as in the alleged examples citrà forum, antè Iovem, Schöll, l. l., 181, 184), yet often also a correct statement is made, e. g. Diom. I 433, 5 (Schöll, p. 177): Item inveniuntur raro dissyllabae (praepositiones), quae acui desiderant, ut est *circúm*, *intér*. On the frequent imitation of the Greek rules, cf. Schöll, p. 65; for *af fátim*, v. Arator 2, 326.

<sup>2</sup>Cod. Bern. 83, Suppl., p. 184, 27 K. (Schöll, p. 194): Duas etiam partes vide, ne sub uno accentu pronunties, idest *verúm támen*, quod nihil est aliud, quam *sét támen*, *et támen*, *et quídem*: sic *verúm támen* ut duae efferendae sunt.—It is evident that all these accents were in actual use, just as the well-known *isté* and *tríginta*, which are also censured (cf. Skutsch, Forsch. 130 f.); besides, we have *etquidem* expressly named as a *compositum*, Audax VII 349, 18, cf. CGL. II 335, 62, and Ahlberg, Procel. I 62 ff.; also *sítamen* Audax ib. 22; Probus IV 144, 3;—*verumtamen* and *attamen*—the latter not even mentioned by this writer—are often written together in MSS and texts. Abbreviations for all 5 combinations are found in the Comm. Not. Tironian. Similarly the dramatists always (8 times) accent *verúm támen*, although the intermediate character of the combination allows them to disregard Lachmann's law (4 times: Mi. 585 *verúm tāmēn*, dí; Ba. 1074; Ru. 890; Men. 253); also, outside of the 1st ft., we find always *et tāmēn*, *séd tāmēn*, *et tāmēn*, except for disregard of L.'s law twice: Naev. fr. 79 *át tāmēn álíi*; And. 59. So, except once in 1st ft. (Hau. 1012 *níhilo mínus*), we find always *nihiló minus* (Men. 953; Poe. 363; Ph. 597; Enn. trag. 368; Phaed. III prol. 48), with disregard of L.'s law once (Enn. tr. 368).

<sup>3</sup>Servius ad Aen. II 124 (Schöll, p. 159<sup>1</sup>): Et mihi iam multi crudele caneant.] quidam graviter pronuntiandum tradunt 'mihi';—where, acc. to the sense, the pronoun is fairly emphatic.



(Büch.) 45, 3 *ét ego*; 103, 1 *quód ego*; Phaed. 1, 17, 2 *áb òvè*; 1, 9, 5 *quíd ită*; Mar. Victor., Gram. Lat. VI 92, 12 *quíd ită* (sotadean); Paulinus Nol. 24, 407 *breve pēr itēr*. Since, however, a light tribrach like *ab ove* is, upon the whole, conventionally avoided by the later poets (cf. Quint. 9, 4, 140), an anapaestic sequence like *áb eō* is more frequent; e. g., Auson. Lud. 42 *sed quíd ego istaēc*; Phaed. 3, 19, 5 *quód itēr* (v. Havet, p. 160); 3, prol., 46 *quód erit*; 1, 21, 5 *ád eūm*; Syr. sent. 209 *a<sup>b</sup> eō*; 242 *in eūm*; Varro *γῶθι σ. 9 út amōr*; CLE. 68, 4; 238, 2, etc. A primary accent of this kind is disregarded only in the first foot, as Sen. Tro. 607 *quid ágis*; CLE. 194. 195 *et ita*. A secondary accent of this kind is also usually observed, as Cat. 63, 63 *égo aduléscens*; App. Syr. sent. 63, R., etc., but is freely disregarded in preparing for the verse-close, as Hor. Ep. 17, 74 *ego inimicís equés*; Syr. sent. 47.

#### PLAUTINE USAGE IN TRIBRACH GROUPS.

In the preceding statement I have attempted to give some general account of the recession of the Latin accent both in tribrach and in dactylic groups. I shall now offer a more extended proof of the correctness of this account, and for this purpose it will be convenient to treat these groups separately. I shall begin with the case of tribrach groups.

It is a well-known rule of Latin iambic verse that a tribrach word admits the metrical accent as a rule only in agreement with the grammatical accent, i. e. regularly, *génere*, very rarely *genère*; similarly *cālāmī*|tatem, almost never *cālāmī*|tatém<sup>1</sup>. Hence if

<sup>1</sup>See TAPA. XXXIV 64 ff. In the treatment of exceptions which is there given a reference should have been made to the cases collected by Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 274; add also *illic-hómo* Ep. 45; 671 (Luchs, Hermes VI 279), cf. *altrámécus*, Ps. 357, etc.; for late authors, v. Meyer, Beob. d. Wortacc., p. 115 ff. On the other hand, *itáne* (Mi. 1120) and *hicíne* (Mo. 507) should not have been confidently cited (p. 65), cf. Schrader, De -ne . . . prosodia, pp. 15, 12. With respect to the observance of the secondary tribrach accent, as in *cālāmī*|tatem (p. 66), credit should have been given to Seyffert, l. l., p. 272, for completing Lindsay's statement and adding Ru. 218 (*misérí-córdiór*), Mo. 802 to the exceptions in bacchiac verse. The observance of this accent is important, for, as is well-known, some critics (e. g. Meyer, l. l., p. 38) refuse to admit any influence of the grammatical accent in Latin verse and explain the non-occurrence of *génère* by a supposed rule that the two closing shorts of a polysyllabic word cannot be used as a resolved arsis; such an hypothesis wholly fails, however, to explain the non-occurrence of *cālāmī*|tatém.

Latin tribrach groups like *sed erus*, *sed ape* | ritur have adopted a similar accentuation, they must in general receive the verse-accent only upon the initial syllable, although the verse admits equally well both the initial and the medial accent (TAPA. XXXIV 68 ff.). In fact, so great a majority of the tribrach and anapaestic groups which actually occur consist of the recessive word-orders named above that the Latin sentence-rhythm appears to have been influenced at this point, and recession has usually occurred even in purely casual combinations. A very simple proof of this general recession in both tribrach and anapaestic groups may be given. As is well known, the iambic proceleusmaticus regularly requires the agreement of word and verse accent, e. g. *vidēs hódie, ibi prius* (Ahlberg, Procel. I 36 f.). If now we examine the complete collection of proceleusmatici which has been made by Ahlberg, we find 48 examples of the type *vides ab ea* (inclusive of 11 examples, which involve syllable-shortening, as in *rogat ut illum*, Eu. 618<sup>1</sup>), but of the type *sed ab eā* only a single case, i. e. Ci. 594 *ego ad anūm*, which belongs to the license of the first foot.<sup>2</sup> Further it may easily be shown that the avoidance of the types *sed ab eā*, *sed ut ágās*, *neque ego ita* is not due to the formation of either the thesis or the arsis when taken separately (Ahlberg, l. l., 10 f., 11 f., 131 ff.); hence it must be due to the effect produced by the two formations taken conjointly, and this effect is none other than the unnatural accent *sed ab eā*, *sed ut ágās*. In other words, we have a

It is interesting to note that in Czech also, which is a quantitative language but has developed besides an initial stress accent, "dans les mots du type *o o o* les trois syllabes sont indépendantes, et l'intensité, très forte sur la première, devient faible sur la seconde pour disparaître sur la finale" (Vendryes, l. l., 132). So far as regards ancient testimonies upon the character of the Latin accent, I may add that Vendryes and similar writers are perhaps mistaken in their statement that the Romans of the best period have absolutely identified the Latin accent with the Greek. On the contrary, Quintilian, XII 10, 33, appears to state that the Latin accent differs from the Greek in a quality of hardness or rigidity (*rigore quodam*), i. e., as I propose to show more fully in another place, in (comparative) inflexibility (of pitch).

<sup>1</sup>Such occurrences in procell. prove against the doubts of Birt, Rhein. Mus. 51, 253, that *ut illum* is a genuine Latin accent; cf. TAPA. XXXIV 75. The explanation there offered still seems to me essentially correct, though the definite oxytonesis of the pronouns should be more stressed, i. e. *illūm*, *omnēs* hence *ut illum*, *sed omnes*; cf. my forthcoming article in TAPA. 1904.

<sup>2</sup>No real exceptions occur in Poe. 1259 *ut hīc páter-est*; Hec. 198 *quod hōc gēnus-est*; Ci. 5; Per. 851; St. 704.

legitimate procel. in *ubi is obiit*, Au. 15, where the accent recedes three syllables, but not in *ubi is obit*, where it recedes only two; in *quod in opere*, Hau. 73, but not in *quod in opus*, etc. Such a formation as *sed ab ea* occurs only in anapaests, as Poe. 1183 neque ab iūven|tute ibi; Ep. 541; Cas. 163, etc. The true formation of the procel. is seen in As. 143 ea sí erant; 818 nisi quídem illa; Poe. 1069 tuos ís erat; Mo. 182; Tri. 516; And. 858 (Ahlberg, pp. 154, 160); the remaining 42 examples are cited TAPA. XXXIV 77.

A second proof is afforded by collecting all the single examples of tribrach groups of the form ∪, ∪ ∪; for the method of measurement, cf. TAPA. XXXIV 78. In general, a recessive *primary* accent is alone admitted by Pl. in these groups; I have observed only five or six exceptions, two of which belong to the first foot, viz., Ps. 881 nam ego íta; Poe. 839 nisi e<sup>o</sup>rus. Also Au. 789 íta di fáciant. || Êt mihi i'ta di fáciant; Mer. 655 si íd fore i'ta sat (so B, other MSS forte); probably phraseological is Mi. 362 mihi quóque pol íta-vidétur, cf. íta-vidétur, Cas. 360. Hau. 599, often míhi vidétur, etc.; Poe. 705 is scanned by Leo and ed. min. quid itá?, with *syllaba anceps* at change of speaker; cf. Luchs, Hermes VIII 114. In the effort to form legitimate verse-closes, however, Plautus and later poets (p. 265 above) much more frequently disregard the *secondary* accent of these groups, in the third foot from the end of both senarius and sept., viz., Men. 267 in Épidamnó dúís, cf. málitrosé tamén, Mi. 562; Au. 105; Ba. 1065; Men. 316; Mi. 1168; Ps. 434; 878; Ru. 116; 1230; Tri. 618; 679;—very rarely in any other foot, as Cur. 341.

To illustrate the recessive accent of the various word-orders, I have used the ten plays Amph., Asin., Aul., Bacch., Capt., Men., Mil., Poen., Rud., Trin. The examples may be classified as follows:

I. PRONOUN + NOUN.—(a) Demonstr., interrog., relative and indef.: híc homo Am. 402; Cap. 793; Poe. 606; 1214; Tri. 892; 963; 1027;—híc equos Ba. 943; 944;—híc aduléscens Ba. 3; Poe. 96;—quís homo Am. 309; 625; 1121; Mi. 615; Ru. 870; Tri. 1176;—quís erus Am. 362;—quí homo Au. 790; Men. 301; Tri. 305;—quí erus As. 658;—quíd opus Mi. 636; 754;—siquíd opus As. 117<sup>1</sup>;—quód itēr Enn. trag. 231.—(b) Pos-

<sup>1</sup> Also Ep. 288 néque opus; cf. Mi. 920. Ps. 349 quód opus (edd. opust); Poe. 436 quíd opus (so A; edd. opust). With *est* we have equally often *sed*

sessive<sup>1</sup>: Mi. 127 méum erum Athénis; 1174 méum opus; Poe. 393 méa inimíca; 1127 o mí ere; Tri. 1110 méo ero amícus; Tru. 215 méa era; 213 méa era apúd nos; 800 túa era; often mí homo, And. 721, etc. (*Total* 34.)

II. PREPOSITION + NOUN OR PRONOUN.—Mi. 879 ín opus (in ópus, in 1st ft. Vid. 75);—ín Epidámno Men. 49; 70; 380 (bis) (in Épidamnó in verse-close Men. 267, cf. p. 267 above);—Ru. 818 cúm erò|huc; Ep. 306 égo agrūm|ín agrò|Attico; Tri. 305 áb ineúnte; 1019 áb aliéno; Men. 186 ín eo utérque; Mi. 1405 ád eam ut írem. (*Total* 11.)

III. S.-I. CONJUNCTION OR PRONOUN + NOUN.—Am. 452 quód erus; 974 ét era; Au. 278 út erus; 288 séd erus; cf. 826 ábi ere; Ba. 872 úbi erus; Cap. 223 sí erus; 1005 séd erus; ib. ét erus; Men. 1076 tú erus; Mi. 451 át erus; Poe. 264 quía erus; 589 quóm ero amánti; 826. 894 quám erus; Ru. 119 úbi erus; 347 néque erus; 1074 quód erus; cf. 1052. Tri. 617 ó ere. [Other examples in Pl. of *erus* are Au. 680; Mi. 859; Mo. 881; 1043; Per. 29; 259; 613; Ps. 1028;—*sed erús* occurs Am. 291; Cap. 241; Per. 514; Ps. 1150; Ru. 345;—*sed érus* only in the 1st ft., Poe. 839, and in Hec. 799 meam e<sup>r</sup>us, where it is justified by the sense, cf. méum erum.] Au. 230 úbi onus; Poe. 857 át onus; Cur. 160 út anus; Ba. 936 séd equos; Cas. 811 sí equos; cf. Mi. 464 néque eques; Tru. 130. Per. 221 quó iter;—Poe. 1202. Tri. 123 quód homo;—cf. Men. 325. Mi. 684 tú homo; Mi. 966 quía aduléscens; Tri. 871 quíd aduléscens; Men. 75 módo aduléscens; Ba. 1042 vél ut amátor; Cap. 773; Mi. 25; 431; 600; 601; Am. 599 dúm apud-hóstis; As. 852; 867; Ba. 388; Men. 561; Mi. 662; Poe. 339. (*Total* 47.)

IV. S.-I. CONJUNCTION OR PRONOUN + PRONOUN.—Demonstr. pronoun: úbi ea Ba. 203; 472; Mi. 686;—út ea Mi. 346; Poe. 1015; Tri. 1168;—Cap. 970 át ea; Ru. 1081 ét ea; cf. Cap. 942; 774; Mi. 900;—for other examples, v. A. J. P. XXV 148, n. 2. No real exception is Cap. 329 ut éa-quae; Ba. 554, read orárem|u<sup>t</sup> ei, with admissible hiatus. (*Total* 11.)—(b) Personal: *ego*, exclusive of *ego sum*, *ego me*, etc., receives an accented prefix 156 times in the 10 plays, viz., *án*, *át*, *dúm*, *ét*, *éum*, *íd*, *ídem*, *íta*,

*opus-est* (Cap. 894; Mi. 705; 765; Ps. 1255, etc.) and *sed ópus-est* (Am. 956; Cas. 427; Ci. 111; Mi. 795, etc.)

<sup>1</sup> For this more frequent position of the poss. *before* the noun, v. Nilsson Pronom. collocat., p. 12.

*item, nám, nêque, nisi, quám, quási, quid, quód, quém, quói, quó quóm, séd, sí, lám, úbi, út, vél*, etc., also *pól*.<sup>1</sup> The frequent collocations *tibi ego* and *mihi ego* (Kämpf, l. l. 17; Mahler, De pronom. collocat., 49 ff.) occur 14 times (*tibi ego* 2 ce, viz., Au. 45; Tri. 515), cf. Mi. 331:

*Míhi ego vídeo, míhi ego sápio, < míhi > ego crédo plúrumúm.*

Cases due to analogy, such as *vír ego* (Am. 813), *bónam ego* (Poe. 303), *túam ego* (Tri. 59), *scío ego* (Cap. 326; Mi. 1325; 1343;—in all 8 times in Pl., cf. Kämpf, l. l. 4) occur 12 times. Against these 182 cases of the type *séd ego*, we find only 12 cases which are ambiguous, admitting either *sed égo* or *sed egô*. In 7 of these cases (Am. 933; As. 838; Au. 45; Ba. 965; Men. 463; 484; Tri. 515) we should clearly scan *sed egó*, since *egô* is accepted as an occasional scansion by the best authorities (Leperman, De corrept., 9; Klotz, Grundz., 52; Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 260); in the 5 remaining cases (Au. 811; Ba. 78; Cap. 1000; Mi. 1429; Ru. 464), it is possible that the subject-pronoun, prefixed to the *verb*, forms with it a quadrisyllabic group, i. e. *égo scio*<sup>2</sup>, like *mêus pater*, *mêus erus*, hence *quod e'go-scio*, Mi. 1429. [*Égo sció* occurs in Pl. 8 times, never *ego scío*, viz., Ep. 663; Mer. 453; 888; 889; Mi. 1429; Per. 588; Poe. 1238; Ps. 391;—so *égo voló* 5 times, viz., Cas. 359; Ci. 112; 645; Mer. 460; Mi. 1255;—and in general the type *nêque scio* (inclusive of *ego s.*) occurs 14 times, *nêque volo* 23 times, the one exception being only apparent, viz., Per. 190 *séd-ita vólo te*.]

All these combinations, as well as *etea*, *etille*, *utipse*, etc., are not seldom written together in the Pl. MSS, e. g. *polego* (B or C): Mi. 526; Poe. 1289; St. 108, etc. Note further that *quid ego*, *quid ille*, *quippe ego* take precedence over the *composita quidni* or *quinni* (v. examples in Niemeyer on Mi. 1120), *quidiam* (Ep. 281 *quid ego iam*, cf. Leo, Nachr. d. Gött. Ges., 1895, p. 425), *quippini* (Ps. 895 *quippe ego te ni*), *quidnunc* or *quinnunc* (Ep. 148 *quid tu nunc? patierin?*, where Seyffert's punctuation, Stud.

<sup>1</sup> The citations for 3 plays are: Cap. 102; 310; 312; 556; 640; 660; 821; 827; 839; 879; 886; 899; 901; 934; 961; 962; 995;—Mi. 197; 246; 289; 305; 371; 433; 526; 640; 652; 771; 780; 804; 1120; 1148; 1160; 1206; 1281; 1311; 1328;—Ru. 158; 238; 333; 435; 450; 454; 466; 566; 608; 732; 842; 844; 860; 964; 970; 1006; 1025; 1028; 1048; 1072; 1134; 1297; 1388; 1411. (Total 60.)

<sup>2</sup> For the regular orders *égo ago*, *égo agam*, cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 54.



Pl., 18, quid tu? nunc patierin? is unnecessary); Pl. uses the formula quid ego nunc faciam in trochaic verse (Mi. 305; Mo. 371, etc.), but in iambic verse he avoids *quid ego* by shifting the order to quid nunc ego faciam (Mer. 712; Ba. 857), cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud., 55. How strong the attraction of conjunctions is for *ego* may be seen from As. 232: *at ego* est etiam prius quam abis quod volo loqui; Poe. 924; 1208; Ru. 964; Mi. 352; Eu. 142. Still another proof may be given that these combinations are in a certain sense *composita* (cf. Greek *πρὸςκαίδεκα*, etc.): Even in those cases where *ego* is most strongly emphatic from the meaning of the sentence, the accent still falls invariably upon the prefix. E. g. Men. 1085f. *Nón egó.*|| *Át egö*; And. 563 *tibi ita hóc vidétur*; *át ego nón posse árbítror*; Am. 436; 438; 439; 813; Au. 734; Ba. 81; Cap. 310; 934; 961; Men. 439; Mi. 246; 433; Poe. 334; Ru. 566; 964; 1006; 1025; 1411; Tri. 1162; Tru. 946f., etc.; Hec. 850; Eu. 1086; Lucil. XXVI 16 M.—For somewhat similar uses, cf. the English accents 'fór-me', 'wíth-me', 'gíve-me', 'dówn-town', 'ánd, sir', 'nóbody', 'ánybody', 'I wánt to know', 'The fool hath said, There ís-no God'.

In the quadrisyllabic groups, *sed ego-me*, *ego-te*, etc. (TAPA. XXXIV 87, 90), both accents are admissible. The medial accent occurs 8 times: Am. 800; Au. 217; Ba. 886; Cap. 575; Men. 148; 299; Poe. 701; Ru. 1055;—the initial accent is twice as frequent: As. 827; Au. 584; Ba. 149; Cap. 631, etc. Similarly *ego-sum* occurs 14 times: Am. 374; 438; 992; 1021; 1029, etc.; *ego-sum* occurs 4 times: Ba. 949; Men. 302; Poe. 1377; Tri. 447; cf. *ego hómo-sum*, As. 490. For this treatment of *egosum* as a single word, cf. the position of the interrogative *-ne* Mo. 362: *séd-ego-súmne infelix*, which Kämpf, l. l., 43, would needlessly emend.

V. S.-I. CONJUNCTIONS AND PRONOUNS + PRONOM. ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.—(a) *Ibi, ita*: Poe. 1132 *quíd ibi*;—*quíd ita* Ba. 87; 680; Tri. 884, v. also Luchs, Hermes VIII 114;—*séd ita* Per. 190; 839; St. 579; Hau. 941;—*án ita* As. 505; Tri. 307;—Am. 572 *íd ita*; Au. 492 *sí ita*; Cap. 622 *át ita*; Mi. 616 *pól ita*; 1120 *ní ita*; 1356 *ét ita* (so ed. mai., but MSS *ét sí ita*); Tri. 311 *té ita*; 343 *út ita*; St. 92 *quía ita*; cf. Mi. 466 *án utrobíque*. Note *ut ibí* As. 709; *at íta-me dí ament* Mi. 501 (TAPA. XXXIV 89); for 3 exceptions, v. p. 267.—(b) *Ubi, uti*: *séd ubi* Am. 504; Ru. 707;—Am. 413 *ét ubi*; Au. 198 *quí*

ubi; Ba. 49 tibi ubi; 84 ego ubi; Cap. 234 id ubi; 290 suo ubi; Men. 10 nisi ubi; Mi. 946 nequid ubi; cf. Am. 9 ea uti; cf. 598; cf. the writing *itauti* in Inscr. (Act. frat. arv. a. 86, l. 44; a. 87, l. 35). Scan sed ubi Au. 439; Ba. 685; Men. 299; Poe. 1131; Ru. 465.—(c) *Eni(m)*, with prefixes *at*, *ego*, *et*, *id*, *ita*, *neque*, *quia*, etc. (19 times): Am. 266; 410; 666; 694; 759; 1034; As. 33; Ba. 457; 993, etc. In other cases the scansion is not *sed enim*, but *sed enim*, cf. the verse-closes Per. 62 neque enim decet, and Eu. 797 quid agis? tacet. (Total 42.)

VI. PRONOUNS (SUBJECT OR OBJECT) + VERB.<sup>1</sup>—Quid agis As. 297; Au. 536; Men. 138; Mi. 170; 178; 276; 1139; Poe. 862;—age siquid agis Ep. 196; Mi. 215; Per. 659; St. 715; 717; Tri. 981;—quid agit Ru. 592; Tri. 55;—quid (quod) agat Men. 465; Mi. 205; Tri. 865; 1007; Enn. tr. 185;—idagit Tri. 699 (itagit B); Enn. tr. 186;—see further TAPA. XXXIV 81, and, on the frequency of *ago* with prefixed pronom. object, cf. Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 80; Thesaurus L. L., p. 1378;—quid ais Am. 364; 848; As. 104; 371; 521; Cap. 577; 612, etc. (21 times in 10 plays);—ecquid ais Poe. 364;—quid ait As. 884; Poe. 1024;—quis ait Cap. 480;—cf. tibi (sibi) ait Men. 1108; Poe. 1018;—Am. 450 quo agis te; 473 quam amat; Au. 467 ubi erat haec;—cf. Ba. 1143. Phor. 435 tibi habe;—Cap. 285. 983 quid erat ei;—Men. 90. Tri. 339 quod edit; Men. 166 quid olet; Mi. 588 id adimatur; 863 quo te agis; 1123 quod agis; 1190 ut eat; 1431 quis erat; Per. 98 quod eat; cf. Ru. 502 tibi erat; 1027 tu abi; 1297 qui habet; Tri. 1078 te agis; 1084 is habitatum huc. (Total 64.)

VII. S.-I. CONJUNCTION + VERB.—Si eris As. 228; Cap. 959; 968; Tri. 677 (?); 1068;—ubi eris (erit) Ba. 757; Ep. 279; 423; 656; Tri. 191; And. 684; Caecil. fr. 97;—[other examples of *si*, *eris*, *erit* are Cas. 215 (?); Ci. 48; Ep. 291; 298; Poe. 1228; St. 710; Tri. 388; Tru. 362; 883;—the three foll. are legitimate

<sup>1</sup> I have included in these examples all those forms like *amat*, *erat*, *habet*, *amet*, *agat*, *edit* (followed by an initial vowel), which were, to be sure, not actually short in Pl.'s time (Müller, Pl. Pr., 58 ff.), but which were soon afterwards completely shortened, since they could easily have been used as short under the Brevis Brevians law. Examples of *ait* (cf. Fleckeisen, Jahn's Jahrb. LXI 19) are included for the same reason. Cases of *ero*, *ago*, *emo*, etc., are not included, viz., Tri. 1062 quid ago; Ps. 997 id ago; Men. 106 neque edo neque emo; Ba. 78 is either sci'o quid ago. Et pol (ed. min.), or better: sci'o <ego> quid ago. Et pol ego (ed. mai.)

procell. : As. 110 ūbi ērīs ūbiquomque; Per. 469; Tri. 714, cf. Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 282; also Terentianus 2357 is erīt anapaēstus (Müller, Res Metr. 172.)] séd aperītur Cap. 108; Cas. 779; Men. 108;—Am. 962 séd age; cf. As. 327. Per. 606 áge age; Ba. 702 nísi ut amétis; Tri. 169 ét inhiávit. (Total 15.)

VIII. ADVERB + VERB.—The adverbs *bene*, *male*, *ita*, *mage*, *pote*, *sat*, *domi*, etc., form virtual *composita*: As. 173 mále agis; Tru. 846 béne agis; [false is Au. 658 *ed. min.* male ágit < hic >; Leo male égit];—sát agit As. 440; Hau. 225;—As. 844 mále habet; Men. 801 béne habet; 386 máge amet; Mi. 232 béne amet (on the formula ita mé di béne ament, v. Hauler on Phor. 165);—Mi. 191. 194 dómi habet, cf. the frequent dómitiónem, as Lucil. XXVI 34. Virtual *composita* also are *beneolet* (cf. beneolentia, Hieron.), *maleolet*, *poterit*, *beneerit*, *maleerit*, *saterit*<sup>1</sup> (cf. Mart. Cap. V § 539 sat eritque), *satscio* (cf. hauscio), *maletractat* (maletractatio, Arnob.); v. also Hauler's note, Phor. 788, on *beneparta* (mei patris beneparta) used substantively like *benefacta*, *benedicta*, and for cases of *bene agere*, *male agere*, *sat agere*, v. Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 79 f.; of rare occurrence here are the tmesis-forms, e. g., Syr. sent. 332 male sécum agit; Pl. Ep. 696 béne hoc habét; Mo. 709. Similarly *mage amo* (*mageamo*) is almost as genuine a compound in Pl. as *mavolo*; for, of the 10 cases in which the form *mage* occurs, 6 involve this combination (Leo, Forsch., p. 264). The full form *mágis-amo* also occurs (Mo. 231; Mi. 1263, etc.), just as *sátis-habet* and *sátis-scio* are used by the side of the usual *sáthabet* (13 times) and *sátsciō* (14 times), both of which observe an invariable order in the dramatists.<sup>2</sup> With the full pyrrhic forms also (*bene*, *male*, etc.) we have always the recessive accent, as in *bénéfacis*, *bénevale* (Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 82), *bénevolo*, *bénemerens*, etc.; thus, according to Ahlberg's collection, the dramatists have 15 examples of procell. like *bene fácitis*, *male fácitis* (trisyllabic verb), but not one example of *bene fácis*, *male fácis* (dissyllabic verb). We find instead always *béne facis*, etc., with the single exception that the less frequent and less fixed secondary accent does not always

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the writing satest Tru. 22; 542; 644 (B), saterat Poe. 458 (B), satesse Per. 686 (C); also iterant (edd. ita erant) Mo. 640 (BC), cf. itast.

<sup>2</sup> Scarcely an exception is Ru. 292 id *sat est* habendum; improbable is the usual correction in Au. 187: sat hábes (MSS satís habes).

recede, e. g., St. 117 *male fáci|undíst*; Inc. tr. fr. 160. In view of these facts, the frequent tmesis-forms (Ritschl, Opusc. II 721, Anm.) and the separate orthography of the republican Inscr. (Corssen, Ausspr. II<sup>2</sup> 887) are far from determining the question of the accent.

IX. ANALOGICAL INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL ORDERS.—Some examples have been already cited above (pp. 268, 271); in addition we may refer to this class the foll.: Au. 6 *míhi avos*; 64 *quóque habet*;—Au. 680. Mi. 859 *mé erus*; Cap. 148 *égo aliénus*;—Men. 502. Mi. 427 *míhi odiósus*; Men. 661 *túa ut opínor*; 675 *síbi inimícus*; Mi. 99 *míhi aduléscens*; 225 *hanc rém age*; 332 *mé homo*; 741 *tám in amíci*; Poe. 874 *cíto homo*; Ru. 733 *ví agis*; 1404 *pálam age*; Tri. 51 *túa agit úxor (A)*; 93 *ád inimíci*; 311 *té ita*; 388 *túom erit*. (*Total 20.*)

Finally, the recessive accent is clearly illustrated by those cases in which several examples of its use occur in the same verse. E. g.

Cap. 1005: *Séd erus éccum ante óstium, ét erus álter éccum ex Álidé.*

Mer. 744: *Nam quí amat quód amat sí habet, id habet pró cibó.*

Cf. Tri. 980 (*ís eras, quí eras, quí tum nón erás*); Mo. 1100 (*quód agas, id agas*); Poe. 867 (*quód edis, quód ames, acc. to P.*); Per. 592 (*quíd ita? quíd enim?*); Mi. 352 (*séd ego quód ago*); St. 539. 44. 46. 49. 52. 53 (*quási ego 6 times*), etc.

That it long continued in use may be seen from the cases of hiatus which the dactylic poets permit after unaccented monosyllables (monosyllables in thesis), cf. L. Müller, R. M.<sup>2</sup>, 371f. E. g. Lucil. I 32 M. *quám hómó*; XXX 24 *quó éám*; Verg. Ecl. 8, 108 *án quí ámant*; Cat. 97, 1 *mé dí ámént*; Hor. S. 1, 9, 38 *sí mē ámás*; 2, 2, 28 *nūm ádést*, etc.

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### III.—NOTES ON THE FIRST BOOK OF THE AENEID.

8 quo numine laeso, 181 Anthea si quem iactatum ventis videat. The indefinite adjective in v. 181 is certainly best explained by attributing to it an adverbial force, such as belongs to *nullus* and to temporal adjectives. The variant *qua* gives the meaning; Mr. Page, who points out the incorrectness of the paraphrase *sicubi* (which would make *quem* = local *qua*), himself renders by 'it may be.' But this phrase introduces a notion of alternatives which cannot be expressed by *qua*. The *si quem* of v. 181 is equivalent to the *si forte* of v. 375; in II 81 the adverbial adjective *aliquod* is strengthened by the addition of *forte*. Passages which I have not found cited for this use of the adjective are Ov. M. IX 8 f. and Stat. Th. II 359 f.

Wagner argued for a like value of the interrogative adjective in v. 8. The passages cited by him fall (omitting Catal. 8 (10), 10, where the text is doubtful) into three classes; 1) E. VI 80 f., G. II 271, IV 505, A. II 322, III 337; 2) A. IV 429, VI 466. In these two classes more recent editors generally reject or disregard the interpretation of the pronoun as adverbial, which is in some cases impossible, in the rest at least unnecessary. Then 3) Cic. Rep. I 56. 36, imitabor ergo Aratum qui . . . a Iove incipiendum putat. Quo Iove? aut quid habet illius carminis simile haec oratio? Another example of the same usage is Cic. de Or. I 22. 104, est enim apud M. Pisonem . . . Peripateticus Staseas . . . Quem tu mihi, inquit Mucius, Staseam, quem Peripateticum narras? and in Greek Plat. Rep. I 330 B, πότερον δέ, ἢν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Κέφαλε, ὧν κέκτησαι τὰ πλείω παρέλαβες ἢ ἐπεκτήσω; ποῖ' ἐπεκτησάμην, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες; The earmarks of this colloquialism (in Latin perhaps, to judge by the places where it is found, a literary and borrowed colloquialism) are two: the use of a pronoun where we should employ an adverb, and the association of this pronoun with a word repeated after the interlocutor. As the repetition and the colloquial environment are wanting to the Virgilian passage, the parallel is inexact and there is no ground for taking the adjective in other than its proper sense. That *numen* can = *voluntas* has been sufficiently shown by Henry, though some of the passages adduced by him require a different interpretation. Kvřčala objects



(against Weidner) that *numen* signifies "nur das gesammte Willensvermögen", not "eine einzelne Willensäußerung"; it is equally true that *voluntas* leans more to the abstract side than do Eng. "wish" and Ger. "Wunsch". Such expressions as "what's your will", or "ich habe einen Wunsch", would normally be rendered by the Latin verb; it is, therefore, only what we expect to find that Cicero, R. A. 50. 145, *qua in re tuam voluntatem a me laedi putas?*, prefers an adverbial to an adjectival interrogative. But abstract shifts easily to concrete; that a *quam tuam voluntatem* would not have been impossible is shown by Caes. B. C. III 109, *quid esset suae voluntatis*, which is a very good parallel to V. A. II 123, *quae sint ea numina divom*.

148 *ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est seditio*. The use elsewhere of *saepe* after a word of comparison (*qualis* A. V 273, *ceu* ib. X 723, *ut* G. II 279, Cic. Cat. I 13. 31) makes it reasonable to associate the adverb here with *veluti* and to assume that it and the preceding prepositional phrase have exchanged places in their respective clauses—a transposition scarcely more violent than that of *deinde*, v. 195, or that admitted by Ovid in M. IX 707, *neque erat ficti nisi conscia nutrix*. And if in Ter. Hec. 307 we adopt the reading of Dziatzko, *non maxumae sunt maxumae quae interdum iras iniuriae faciunt*, this offers a like example of double transposition (rhetorically, indeed, more effective and eased by the general frequency of the incorporation of the antecedent).—But the comment of Servius, *saepe autem ut fieri solet*, seems to have influenced not only some Virgilian editors, but also Munro in his note on Lucr. V 1231 f., *nequiquam, quoniam violento turbine saepe correptus nilo fertur minus ad vada leti*: "Lucr. does not mean to say 'in vain, since he often perishes none the less'; but what he means is this, 'since in every case a man perishes none the less for all his prayers, as we see by various examples'; *saepe* therefore means *id quod saepe fieri videmus*; though less marked it has essentially the same force in such passages as II 85 and IV 34, where *cum saepe* means *cum ut saepe fit*; III 912 (*hoc etiam faciunt*)<sup>1</sup> *ubi discutere tenentque pocula saepe homines, i. e. ut saepe fit*." But in this last passage the main clause simply straddles the subordinate clauses, and the adverb, belonging rhythmically to *homines* and by signification most naturally to *faciunt*, helps to draw the two together and to make us feel the prime pertinence of the

<sup>1</sup> These words are omitted in Munro's citation.

former as in the first instance subject of the latter. Giussani's comment, "*saepe vale per tutta la scena discripta*", seems to imply that he regards it as belonging to all three verbs; this is syntactically difficult and, like Munro's interpretation, throws the emphasis where it is less needed; the querulousness of men is the essential element, the conviviality is merely incidental. In V 1231 Munro's rendering of *saepe* seems to attribute to Lucretius the exaggerated statement that they who pray must perish; the fact that destruction often follows on a prayer for preservation suffices to prove to the Epicurean the general uselessness of prayer. In IV 34 there is obviously no need for departing from the ordinary interpretation of the adverb; in II 85 the rendering *ut saepe fit* would answer excellently and might be admitted if there were otherwise any evidence, or any syntactical probability, that this or any other adverb could be so paraphrased. But the adverb which modifies the verb may be resolved only into a principal clause (for various forms of such resolution in the case of *saepe* cp. Pl. Most. 108, Ter. Hec. 308, Lucr. I 897); the adverb can be resolved into a subordinate, always a relative, clause only when it stands as attribute to a substantive, as in the examples cited in Kuehner, II p. 165. Here, indeed, it is usually the substantive that, being in apposition, has the value of a relative clause and carries the adverb along with it, as in V. A. I 21, *populum late regem*=*qui late regeret*; more rarely the adverb alone represents the clause, as in Liv. I 17, 4, *multarum circa civitatum*=*quae circa erant*. We must then seek for Lucr. II 85 f., *nam cum<sup>1</sup> cita saepe obvia confluxere*, an interpretation which shall not violate the syntax of the adverb. Munro's translation—"For when during motion they have, as often happens, met and clashed"—brings *obvia* into close connection with *confluxere*; the fact that the adjective is often associated with verbs which express the notion of going suggests that we should here connect it with *cita*, which expresses the beginning of going. If we punctuate, *nam cum, cita saepe obvia, confluxere*, we shall have a participle to which will belong the value not of a temporal but of a relative clause, and to which the adjective will stand in a predicative relation; and the participial clause may be paraphrased by *quae saepe ita cita sunt ut obvia essent*, "which often have been so set in motion (are moving on such lines) as to meet."

<sup>1</sup> *Cum* is, of course, a conjecture, but, I believe, universally accepted.

156 curruque volans dat lora secundo. Henry agrees with Servius in explaining *secundo* by *obsequenti*, understanding, however, as object not the impossible Servian *Troianis*, but *Neptuno* or *aurigae*. That the adjective may have this value, is true, but must be demonstrated from other examples than Henry's. The transitive *secundare* of Prop. III (IV) 21. 14 has no place here; it is to be explained from Servius on A. III 36, *secundarent . . . prosperos facerent*. But Tac. A. II 24, *secundante vento*, shows an intransitive *secundare* = *secundum esse*<sup>1</sup>; and the adjective shows the metaphorical notion of *obsequium* in Sall. Jug. 14. 19, *omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt*; that we have here a pleonasm, in which the second adjective explains the first, and that *secunda* is not to be rendered by *prospera*, seems to be a natural inference from the context. We have a *re obsequi* in Pl. As. 496, *secunda mihi facis*, a *verbis obsequi* in Sall. Jug. 65. 3 *hominem . . . secunda oratione extollit* ("i. e. quae illius sententiae non adversaretur, sed secundum eam esset, eique adularetur ac blandiretur" Kritz), in Ov. A. A. I 584, *nec dubites illi verba secunda loqui*, and Liv. II 38. 1, *audientes secunda irae verba*; so, too, in Enn. A. 307 M., 194. 14 B., *secunda loquens in tempore*, beside which passage are to be set Ter. Haut. 827, *obsecundato in loco*, and Ad. 994, *haec reprehendere et corrigere me et secundare in loco*. This last seems to be the only passage where the simple verb = *obsequi*, and the form is preserved only by Donatus; the Terentian manuscripts exhibit the more usual *obsecundare*, which spoils the metre. Donatus offers two explanations: *vel in melius convertere vel obsequi*; the second is confirmed by the contrast of *secundare in loco* with v. 990, *quia non iusta iniusta, prorsus omnia omnino obsequor*.

This metaphorical sense is, however, too remote from the context of the Virgilian passage; with *currus* the adjective is most naturally felt to have its primitive sense of motion. So, in fact, most commentators take it; Conington's remark, "the idea in *secundo* is that of easy gliding" expresses the general view.

<sup>1</sup>So, at least, according to Lewis and Short, s. v.; but as Tacitus is more given to developing new usages than to retaining old, it is possible that he may employ the verb absolutely on the basis of *secundare iter, aquas* (Ov. Her. 13, 136), or the like. The question cannot easily be determined from the few examples: Draeger says: "*secundante* in derselben Verbindung bei Justin 26. 3. Sonst dichterisch und im Spätlatein"; but the last part of his remark seems to apply only to the better known transitive verb.

The provenance of this signification is commonly explained by regarding *curru secundo* as analogous to *secundo flumine, vento*, and the like. But in those phrases the implied object of the verbal adjective is always the subject of the main action, and the adjective itself denotes not, as Henry says, "seconding you, going in the direction you wish," but simply "following"; V. G. III 447, (aries) *secundo defluit amni* ("drifts down with the stream behind him"), gives the type. To this type *curru volat secundo*, whether *curru* be taken as ablative or as dative, does not conform; neither chariot nor horses follow the driver.<sup>1</sup>

It is out of place to cite, as Conington and Forbiger do, the elaborate *vela secunda dare*, which Ovid (A. A. II 64, Fast. III 790) employs in two distinct senses, and with which is to be compared V. A. III 455, *sinus implere secundos*; only a complete departure from the primitive meaning could allow the adjective to be combined with these substantives, and its force is exerted on the complex of verb and substantive, not on the latter alone. On the other hand, Conington's citation of A. VI 146, *namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur*, is, as Forbiger says, apt, and indeed offers the only logical explanation. Gossrau says: "*curru secundo, celeri vel qui facile equos sequitur*"; the second of his alternatives is the right one, for there is no way in which the adjective can gain the meaning "swift" attributed to it by Heyne. The examples given in Lewis and Short of *sequi* denoting an easy yielding to a tractive force, all have, or imply, *manum*, or an equivalent, as object; but another mode of traction is expressed in Ov. Met. IV 54, *lana sua fila sequente*, and is implied, though without a definite suggestion, in the absolute use of the verb, *ibid.* I 647, *si modo verba sequantur* (both passages cited by Henry, but not pertinent to his interpretation). Of course, in this view *curru* must be ablative, as indeed it must be according to any other interpretation of the adjective than that of Servius and Henry.

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps an exception to the type occurs in Sall. Jug. 19. 3, *secundo mari prima Cyrene est*. Wirz (Jacobs<sup>8</sup>), indeed, seeks to make this conform by explaining: *so dass das Meer mitfolgt, d. h. zur Seite des Reisenden bleibt*. It seems to me difficult to assume such a meaning for *sequi*, and easier to believe that Sallust simply did violence to the adjective in aiming at a variation from the normal *secundum mare*. Such a use as that in Caes. B. G. VII 58, *secundo flumine iter facere coepit*, where a march along the bank is meant, may have helped him to the new term, but is not parallel; for Labienus was actually marching down the river.



455 f. *artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem miratur*. Neither Ribbeck's *intrans* nor Peerlkamp's *mirantur* has found general acceptance; and against the reading of cod. Bern. 184 pr. m., *intra se*, there stands such an overwhelming mass of testimony, that Deuticke, not convinced of its correctness, admits it only in default of a better.

For *a. m. inter se* Servius offers the explanation: *hoc est, habebat artificum comparationem*; Servius Dan. adds: '*inter se*' autem *inter se* certantium, vel aliquid tale. Each of these explanations has found modern adherents, and either is conceivably possible; both lack confirmation by parallel passages. Mr. Page, adopting the former, says: "*Artificum manus inter se similes, dissimiles*, would be ordinary Latin; so would *a. m. inter se mirabiles*, and so why not *a. m. inter se miratur*? For *miratur* put *mirabiles* *putat*, and all is clear". But the expression *inter se mirabiles* is so far from being ordinary that no example of it seems to occur; and while it is not incredible that *inter se* should contain the idea of comparison (which is not contained in *miror* and its derivatives), this also lacks confirmation by examples. The notion of rivalry, read into the prepositional phrase by Servius Dan., is found in Tac. H. III 29: *acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen*; *et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliariis eodem incubuerat*. *Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent*, etc. Here the meaning of *inter se* is shown by the preceding *certamen* and by the situation; in the Virgilian passage there is no word pointing to the idea of rivalry, and the situation, while not altogether averse from that idea, does not inevitably provoke it.

A third explanation is that offered by Siebelis (Gymnasial-progr., Hildburghausen, 1845), *artificum manus inter se operantium*, which is essentially the same as those of Kappes and Schrader (quoted by Forbiger) and of Metzger (Philol. XXXV p. 563), who translates by "die arbeiter die einander in die hände arbeiten". In their brief treatment of the matter both Siebelis and Metzger (probably also Schrader, whose view I know only through Forbiger) are open to the criticism passed by Kvíčala on Kappes of having failed sufficiently to consider the nature of the expression *inter se*, which, says Kvíčala, "nur mit einem solchen Substantiv verbunden wird, welches den Begriff der Wechselseitigkeit schon in sich trägt . . . . ferner kann man sagen *amor inter se* u. dgl., weil man auch sagt *amare inter se*, aber



*laborare inter se* ist nicht zulässig, und ebenso wenig *labor inter se* oder etwas ähnliches". This statement, while too sweeping, defines correctly the normal use of the phrase in question, the nature of which, as well as the exceptions to the norm, it is worth while to consider with care.

The combination formed by *inter* with a pronoun that may be understood in a reciprocal sense (*nos, vos, se*) is employed, in the first place with verbs or verbal substantives, the action of which involves two persons, each of whom is necessarily alike agent and "patient": *Seius et Titius inter se contendunt* = *Seius cum Titio et Titius cum Seio contendit*; and the relation remains the same, though less sharply defined, if only one object and one subject are expressed, as in *Seius cum Titio contendit*. It is further employed with words in which such reciprocity, while not inevitably contained, is readily suggested by the nature of the action; the sentence *Seius cum Titio loquitur* may limit speech to Seius and leave Titius a *persona muta*, but it also allows us to infer the exchange of words which is definitely expressed by *Titius et Seius inter se loquuntur*. Finally, in *Seius Titium amat* the action runs only one way and there is no scope for inference; but the current which sets from personal subject to personal object is potentially reflexible, and we thus easily arrive at a *Seius et Titius inter se amant*.

With verbs, the action of which is directed toward no object, or toward one that is not personal, there can be no true interaction; if such verbs are nevertheless sometimes accompanied by *inter se* etc., this seems to be, in the main, because of the intimate relation between *inter* and *cum*. In associating with verbs of the type of *loqui, coire, contendere* the latter preposition, forced beyond its primitive signification of mere accompaniment, comes into close touch with *inter*, which again sometimes follows *cum* back to its own ground. This process yields such forms of expression as the following, distinct exceptions to Kvíčala's rule:

Lucr. II 29, *inter se prostrati* in gramine; *ibid.* 76, *inter se mortales mutua vivunt* (cf. Cic. C. M. 14. 49, *secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere*, where Reid cites Tusc. I 31. 75, Pers. 4. 52); *id.* V 959 f., *neque ullis moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti* (cf. V. A. II 453, *pervius usus tectorum inter se*, where the verbal substantive *usus* has the value of a passive verb); Cic. Fam. IX 3. 1, *ne nostra nobiscum aut inter nos cessatio vituperetur* (with *nobiscum* cf. Prop. III (IV) 23. 15, *cessabimus una*;

but Cicero does not remain content with the notion of simple companionship, which is all that the verb properly admits); de Or. I 1. 2, ad eas artis celebrandas inter nosque recolendas; Sall. Iug. 41. 2, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant<sup>1</sup>; V. G. I 301, mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant; ibid. IV 174 = A. VIII 452, illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt.

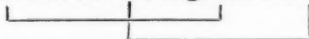
This last example furnishes direct proof that a *laborare inter se* is not impossible; beside it we may set Iuv. 3. 264, haec inter pueros varie properantur and over against it Ter. Haut. 126 f., pro se quisque sedulo faciebant quo illam mihi lenirent miseriam. As *pro se quisque* expresses individual action, so *inter* (and that, as the Juvenal passage shows, not with a reciprocal pronoun only) expresses joint action. In the following passages the phrase *ipsi inter se*, by a further development, denotes the action of two persons toward each other as contrasted with their common action toward a third person; Liv. I 56. 11, ut (Sextus) ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent, ipsi inter se, uter prior . . . matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt; Cic. Clu. 43. 122, censores denique ipsi saepe numero superiorum censorum iudiciis . . . non steterunt; atque etiam ipsi inter se censores sua iudicia tanti esse arbitrantur, ut alter alterius iudicium . . . rescindat. Cicero's phrase is the bolder of the two, since the close association of *inter se* with an expressed nominal subject gives it an air of being independent of the verb.

With a substantive not otherwise having verbal force *inter se* occurs in Liv. XL 8, cum vultus inter vos minime fraternos cernerem, where, however, it depends not on the substantive alone but on the complex of substantive and adjective; it is the notion of manner contained in the attribute that imparts to the substan-

<sup>1</sup> Wirz (Jacobs<sup>6</sup>) on Sall. l. c. §5, res p., quae media fuerat, dilacerata, comparing Liv. II 57. 3, dum consules tribunique ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio, distractam laceratamque rem p., says: "Das *media fuerat* enthält eine kurze Wiederholung von §2 *placide mod. inter se rem p. tractabant*; die beiden Staatsgewalten hatten früher den Staat als ein gleichsam zwischen ihnen liegendes Gemeingut betrachtet, das weder ganz in den Händen der einen, noch in denen der andern Partei war." But *res media* (= *in medio sita*) is not *res communis*, and it is the latter idea that is required by *tractabant*, which does not correspond to the Livian *ad se trahant* and *distractam*, but to *administrabant*. Kritz interprets rightly: "*Inter se communionem imperii significat, ita ut et senatus et populus rem p. capesserent.*" Cf. Liv. IV 56. 12, si quando promiscui honores, communicata res p. esset.

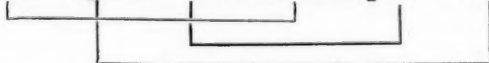
tive the verbal quality, which it acquires in the same manner, and in like connection with a prepositional phrase, in Hor. C. I 2. 39 f., *acer et Mauri peditis cruentum voltus in hostem*. Editors are indeed wont to refer to this passage from C. I 6. 17 f., *proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium*, by way of illustrating the use of *acer in c. acc.*; but the sense clearly demands that *acer Mauri voltus* be regarded as equivalent to *Maurus acriter intuens*. It may, in fact, seem doubtful whether *acer* ever takes the construction thus attributed to it; no other examples than these two appear to be cited, and in C. 6 it is quite possible to connect the preposition with *proelia*, which would easily admit it through its relation to *pugnare*. This interpretation appears to me preferable on account of the closer connection which would thus be effected between *proelia virginum* and the following words; instead of the comparatively simple interlinking in

sectis in-iuvenes unguibus acrium



we should have the more elaborate

proelia virginum sectis in-iuvenes unguibus acrium,



very like in form to C. III 11. 26 f., cited by Professor Smith, *Introd.* § 111 as an example of the manner in which "two groups are sometimes linked together by the connection of their interior words".

The passages which I have cited to illustrate the exceptional use of *inter* have received, so far as I know, little attention from commentators, evidently because of their simplicity; with a verb, or a phrase having verbal quality, the meaning of *inter se* was so easily felt that no one was at the trouble of defining it. That Virgil's lines, on the other hand, stirred up discussion, is due in the first place to the habitually concrete character of *manus*. Even in metaphorical expressions, such as *extremam manum imponere* and *manus afferre*, that substantive retains its primitive value, and is felt as a vivid physical substitute for the abstract *cura* or *vis*; cf. Cic. Off. II 4. 14, where upon the phrase, *sine hominum opera*, there follows the more forcible variation, *sine hominum manu atque opera*. The only passage I have found, in which *manus* loses force, is Quint. X 1. 97, *nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse*. Here it is weakened by the addition of the prepo-

sitional phrase and by its coordination with an abstract, *nitor*, to which it is not related in sense and of which, therefore, it cannot be the concrete expression; the result is that it is reduced to the level of *opera* or *labor* and becomes in effect a verbal substantive. The fact that the word rarely undergoes such a development may be the reason why many commentators on our passage have explained *manus* and *operum laborem* as concrete in sense; so Heyne, Henry, Kappes, Gebhardi, Page. No doubt such a meaning is quite admissible for *manus*, as it is frequent with *labor*; Mr. Page refers to II 306, *sternit sata laeta boumque labores*, where he cites V 359, *artes*="works of art", VI 683 *manus*="exploits"; a very close parallel would be Mart. IV 39. 2 ff., *et solus veteres Myronis artes, solus Praxitelis manus Scopaeque . . . . solus Mentoreos habes labores*. But with this interpretation it is impossible (and here Henry and Kappes are much at fault) to take *inter se* as modifying the substantives; without a verbal notion, expressed or implied, there can be no preposition. It is, therefore, here not *laborem* that is as concrete and nominal as *manus*, but *manus* that, under the influence of *laborem*, becomes verbal and abstract; and for understanding *operum laborem* we must compare not G. II 155, *adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem* (i. e. *opera labore exstructa*), but A. I 507 f., *operumque laborem partibus aequabat iustis* (i. e. *laborem qui in operibus faciendis adhiberetur*). Virgil's expression is complicated, and its sense obscured, by the two genitives; the subjective *artificum* is most easily felt as a possessive with *manus*, the objective *operum* as belonging only to *laborem*, and this tends to draw apart the accusatives, which the poet aimed at blending into a single conception by means of *inter se*. That this phrase was intended to bring together the two substantival groups, Kappes seems rightly to have felt; their fusion is, however, closer than his interpretation would allow, and the dominant element is the last, the distinctly verbal, substantive. As in Quint. I. c., so here *manus* is weakened by the proximity of the preposition; the weakening is less obvious, because the preceding genitive is so easily misunderstood. From what seems to me the correct paraphrase of this tangled sentence I should omit *manus*, or should at most admit it as a subordinate element, an instrumental: *artifices (manibus) inter se in operibus faciendis laborantes miratur*.

737 *summo tenus attigit ore*. The modern interpretation of these words seems to be uniformly that of Heyne: "*summo ore*

*tenus*, primis labris degustavit". The evident objection to this is that *ore* in the text is made to depend on *tenus*, while in the paraphrase it is treated as an instrumental with the verb, such as we have in Cic. de Or. I 19, 87, ne primoribus quidem labris attigisset, Cael. 12. 28, qui primoribus labris gustassent . . . et extremis, ut dicitur, digitis attigissent, and N. D. I 8. 20, primis, ut dicitur, labris gustasse. The possible equivalence of *summo ore* to Cicero's *primis labris* is shown by Prop. IV (V) 7. 10, summaque Lethaeus triverat ora liquor, and Sen. Ep. 10. 3, non a summis labris ista venerunt; but there is no parallel for such an expression as *tenus ore attingere* in the sense here required, nor could there well be, since *tenus* can apply only to the thing or part touched, not to that which touches. We must, therefore, separate the instrumental *ore*, which belongs with *attigit*, from *summo*, which is here a substantive and sole object of *tenus*: 'She touched with her mouth as far as the surface'. A pendant which helps to explain is Hor. C. III 15, 16, poti faece *tenus* cadī; and the prepositional phrase expresses the same idea as is rendered (in metaphorical relations) by an adverb in Lucr. III 261, *summatim attingere*, and by an adjective in Nep. Pelop. 1. 1, si tantummodo *summas* (virtutes) attigero. Such a separation of the two ablatives seems to be implied in the Servian notes: *summo tenuis usque ad labra. attigit ore et verecundiam reginae ostendit*, etc. But Servius Dan. also confuses the point reached with the instrument.

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#### IV.—THE LANGUAGE OF TRAGEDY AND ITS RELATION TO OLD ATTIC.

Numerous treatises on the dialect of tragedy have appeared during the last half-century, but some phases of the question are still inadequately treated and some important truths do not appear to have received sufficient recognition. It is the purpose of this discussion to supplement the results already obtained by a presentation of some facts not yet noted, and to endeavor to establish from the facts at hand the proper deductions concerning the subject as a whole. Two parts of the tragic diction, the forms and vocabulary, have been here considered, and both have been viewed from a comparative standpoint. The comparative table of Ionic and Doric forms in the trimeter of the three tragedians throws, it is thought, some new light upon the following points: the origin of the alien forms and the indebtedness of Athenian to Dorian tragedy, the influence of the Doric and Ionic writers at Athens upon Athenian tragedy, and the fallacy that the use of un-Attic forms was due to the demands of metre. The comparative statistic of Attic and un-Attic words in the early Ionic and Attic inscriptions, and in the tragic, Ionic and Attic writers shows quite clearly the relation of the tragic diction to Ionic as well as Attic; while the study of the vocabulary of Aeschylus demonstrates plainly the relation which the diction of the dialogue bears to that of the chorus, the reasons for the disposition of words in the dialogue or chorus, and the explanation of the striking difference between the structure of the tragic trimeter and that of comedy.

The Epic or Ionic coloring of the dialogue is well known and has been the occasion of extensive comment.<sup>1</sup> The presence of Doric forms also has been noted, but so far their occurrence has received comparatively little attention, although these forms are

<sup>1</sup> The best discussions of the dialectic forms are by Gerth, *Curt. Stud.* 1, 2, 193 ff., and by Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, 74 ff.: the most convenient compilations of the forms and their occurrence are by Gerth, l. c., Koster, *Studia tragico-Homerica* (1891), Franklin, *Traces of Epic Influence in Aeschylus* (1895), Wittekind, *Sermo Sophocleus* (1895), Uhlmann, *Propriet. sermonis Aesch.* (1881-1892). Some earlier works of value are mentioned by Smyth, l. c., p. 74.

sufficiently numerous to impart a decided Doric tinge to the trimeter.<sup>1</sup> This may readily be seen by a comparison of some of the Doric forms with a like number of so-called Epic-Ionic forms.

Ionic Forms. <sup>2</sup>	Aesch.	Soph.	Eur.	Doric Forms.	Aesch.	Soph.	Eur.
ξεῖνος		10	2	Ἀθάνα	4	6	1
ἐξεκείνωσεν	1			γαμόρος	2		
εἰλίσσω			6	γαπότος	3		
εἵνεκα	2		4	γατόμος	1		
εἰν		1		γαπόνος			1
μοῦνος		13		γαθούση (em.)	1		
γούνατα		1	4	γαπονεῖν			1
δουρίληπτος		1		γάπεδον (em.)	1		
δουρίπηκτος	1			δαρός	3	1	5
δούρειος			1	δαίος	3	1	
ξύνουρος	1			ἐκάτι	7	3	30
μουνῶπα	1			ναίος	3		1
Θρηξ <sup>3</sup>		1	13	ναμα	2	2	8
Θρήκη	1		7	ναρός	1	1	
Θρήκιος	2		15	ὀπαδός	1		10
καταιβάτης	1		1	ὀπάων	3	2	6
κλαίεσκον (?)	1			κυναγός		1	5
Total	11	27	53	Total	35	17	68

From this table, which contains most of the so-called Ionic forms, it appears that the Doric forms are largely in excess of the Ionic, that Aeschylus is most Doric and Sophocles most Ionic. No adequate treatment of this Doric element has as yet been given, so that an analysis of these Doricisms, together with an explanation of their presence and of the excess in Aeschylus, seems to be required. This Doric element may be divided into five classes:

<sup>1</sup> Barlen, *De vocali ā pro η in trim.* discusses most fully the Doric element, but he has restricted his work to such forms as show long *a*. A number of other Doric forms have been overlooked by all writers on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> It has been difficult at times to determine how often a given form occurs, as the editors by no means agree. However, it is a trivial matter whether Aeschylus has 11 or 12 Ionicisms and 32 or 34 Doricisms; the important thing is to know whether the Doric forms are much more numerous than the Ionic forms or not.

<sup>3</sup> Θρηξ and congeners, which constitute the bulk of the Ionicisms in Eurip., are mainly in Hecuba (11 times) and the spurious (?) Rhesus (18 times).

a) Local forms<sup>1</sup> (mainly Sicilian) as γᾰμόρος, μασθός (cf. Kühner-Blass, I p. 157), ἀρμοῖ (Ah. 385), μελλῶ (Ah. 389), μᾶ (ch.), ἀδελφεός Sept. 576 (Ah. 71, 123, Gerth, l. c., 232), θήν (Ah. 384), ἔσσομαι El. 818, ἔσσεται, OC 1118, μέσσος, θεόσσντος, δορυσσόν, ἐσσύθη (Ah. 99 on forms with -σσ-), πόρπαι (Sicilian acc'd to Wilamowitz, H. F. II 229); local words, as ἀσχεδωρος, λιτροσκόπος (Ah. 391), Παλικοί, κότταβος (cf. Weber, Anacreontea 87), λάταξ Soph. fr., βασσάρα (cf. Et. M. 190, 58, Hesych. s. v.); and some terms apparently Spartan or Cretan, as ἐβδομαγέτης (Gerth, l. c., 265), ἔφορος (ch.), κάσις (possibly κασίγητος and κασιγνήταις), οἰκεύς<sup>2</sup> and ἀγέλαι.<sup>3</sup>

b) Military or hunting terms, as λοχᾶγός, κυνᾶγός, κυνᾶγία, ποδᾶγός, συγκυνᾶγός, and λοχᾶγέτης.

c) Forms which have the Doric ā as γᾰ- compounds, the forms above in the Doric column, and ἄμός, λᾰός (cf. Kretschmer, KZ XXXI, 290), νᾰός (Ah. 51) τιμᾰρος (cf. Wackernagel, KZ XXVII, 263, XXVIII, 132), βᾰλός (Hom. βηλός), βᾰτε (Kühner-Blass, II, 380), ἱκετᾰδόκος, ποινᾰτῶρ, ποινᾰσόμεσθα, νοθᾰγενής, αὔδᾰσον, θοινᾰσόμεσθα, θοινᾰτῶρ, θοινᾰτήριον, νᾰμέρτεια, πόρπᾰμα, προσπορπᾰτός (ch.), πόρπᾰσον (Küh.-Blass, § 238, 3), λεοντοβᾰμων, δίβᾰμος, ἀγησιλᾰος fr., and πεπᾰμένῳ.

d) Scattered forms, many of which are found in other dialects, as -σσ-, -ρσ- (Kühner-Blass, I, 147), σύν, ξυνός (Arcad. and Argive), πέδοικος Aesch. fr., ποτί, τοί, ἐγών Aesch. Suppl. 740, σφέ, σφίν, σφός, πτόλις and compounds, κῆαρ (so in Pindar but κῆρ in Homer), ποταίνιος (Phot.), ᾰσσιστα (Laconian inscr.), αἰέν, αἰεί, generally emended to αἰί (Ah. 378-9), χεῖρεσσι (Ah. 229), πόλεος (Ah. 236), αἰοιδή, αἰείδω, αἰεκής, αἰείρω (Ah. 193), νόον, πυρπνόου, διάπλοον, καλλιρρόου, ὀρεσκόου (Ah. 194), πωλεύμεναι (Ah. 214), ἔκρυφθεν (Ah. 317),

<sup>1</sup> The references Ah. are to Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorica, on which I have relied mainly for the forms of the Doric dialect. In this article no attempt has been made to determine the dialect of any form for myself.

<sup>2</sup> The form οἰκῆος in Solon cannot be taken as authoritative. As Smyth, l. c. 68, observes, "an οἰκεός might readily have been transcribed οἰκῆος because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time". It is very probable that this law of Solon was taken from Crete, as the word is Cretan (Gortyna code), and the form οἰκεος is the Doric genitive (cf. Ah. 233, 236), so that neither word nor form can rightly be considered either Ionic or Attic.

<sup>3</sup> Of these terms ἀγέλαι and οἰκεύς were common in Crete, ἀγέλαι and κάσις in everyday use at Sparta. As designations of the whole body of Spartan youth they were prominent constitutional terms of the most powerful state of Greece, and doubtless as well known at Athens as "ephoroi" or "satrap": κάσις, like ἐφορος, in tragedy can be drawn only from Sparta.

χρύσειον (Ah. 121, 194), χαλκίου, βρέτεια (Ah. 235), δήριος, φύσιος (Ah. 231), ἔσταν (Ah. 317), etc.

e) Apocope and possibly some cases of psilosis (Ah. 353, 36-7).

The assignment to the Doric dialect of such of the above forms as occur in the epos is due to reasons presented below. Of these Doric forms, those of class a owe their appearance in tragedy partly to Aeschylus' residence in Sicily, partly to subject-matter,<sup>1</sup> but mainly, I believe, to dithyrambic or choral poetry. Those of class b, on account of the military supremacy of the Spartans,<sup>2</sup> may have been in vogue in Attic as early as the time of Thespis, but the statement of Phrynichus, οἱ μὲν τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ . . . δωρίζουσι, τὸ ἢ εἰς α μετατιθέντες, κυνᾶγός, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὸ ἢ φυλάττουσιν, οἶον κυνηγίτης, would indicate that the tragedians made use of these well-known forms solely to give, by means of the *ā*, a Doric tinge to the trimeter. Most of the forms of class c appear to have been chosen for no other reason than to give a Doric coloring. In the use of these forms the "necessities of metre" manifestly had no influence, for the Doric and Ionic or Attic forms were metrically equivalent. It may then reasonably be supposed that the same aesthetic reason prompted the use of the other forms of this and those of the remaining classes. The query which naturally arises here, why the Doric forms were used in preference to the Attic, finds its answer in the reply to the question why Doric *ā* appears in the chorus.<sup>3</sup> The presence of so many forms can hardly have been due to Aeschylus' residence in Sicily, nor to possible association with Pindar. Some support is given to this view by the excess of Doric forms in Aeschylus, but it is reasonably certain that the rules for tragic composition were formulated long before he left Athens, and it is not at all probable that the effect upon Aeschylus of his stay among the Dorians could have given a permanent coloring to such an artistic production as tragedy.<sup>4</sup> The Doric tinge of the trimeter

<sup>1</sup> The influence of the subject-matter is seen also in the use of Egyptian βᾶρις in the Supplices, τιάρια in the Persae, and in the new words of the Bacchae, βάκχευσις, βάκχευμα, βακχεύσιμος, etc. Cf. Hermann, Opusc. II, 101-2, on the foreign air of the Persae.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lobeck, Phrynichus 430, Hoffmann, Gr. Dial. III, 308.

<sup>3</sup> "In den Chorgesängen der Tragödien ein stilvoll abgedämpfter Dorismus an die alten Zusammenhänge mit der dorischen Lyrik mahnte". G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The strongest Sicilian influence upon tragedy is probably that of Stesichorus. "Erzählte er (Stech.) die Mythen in lyrischen Versmassen und liess

must be explained, I believe, in the same way as the Doric coloring of the chorus, viz., as a royalty to a Dorian invention. Some form of the dialogue seems to have existed in the dithyramb. Suidas, s. v. Ἀρίων, says: λέγεται . . . ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. To the same effect is Aristotle's statement, Poet. c. 4: καὶ ἡ μὲν (τραγωδία) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον. Whatever the origin of the dithyramb "its elevation to the rank of artistic poetry" as Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 16, notes, was due to the Dorians. "The Dorian stamp is upon all choral poetry in its language, rhythm, and metre"<sup>1</sup>, and there is no reason to suppose that the dithyramb formed an exception to this rule. The connection between the Doric dithyramb and Attic tragedy seems clearly established,<sup>2</sup> and Arion<sup>3</sup> as well as Epigenes were by common tradition counted as the first of the tragic poets. The common statement that "in Greek literature different kinds of composition adhered generally to the dialect in which they started" (Rutherford, New Phryn. Introd., p. 3) is exemplified in tragedy, and the Doric color of the choral odes is generally ascribed to the imitation of a Doric original. In my opinion Doric α must have the same significance in the dialogue as in the chorus, and the Doric tinge is an acknowledgment by the Athenians of their obligation to a Doric creation. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Attic tragedians, if they had introduced the dialogue into tragedy, would have given such a Doric cast to the speech of epic characters and to the iambic, that is, Ionic metre.

Since, then, it is generally conceded that Athenian tragedy is a development of Dorian originals, it is surprising that -σσ-, σύν, ποτί and other forms of class d should have been called Ionic. These were native Doric forms. As such they would of course appear in choral poetry, and are no more epic in the dithyramb than in the Doric prose inscriptions. Why, then, should they be called Ionic in the Attic dithyramb or in the choral (Doric) odes

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sie von Chören an den religiösen Volksfesten vortragen . . . so dass (seine Gedichte) auch in Attica vielverbreitet und namentlich von den Tragikern vielbenützt wurden". Christ, Gr. Literat. (1890), p. 136.

<sup>1</sup> Smyth, Greek Melic Poets, xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haigh, l. c., 25. Schaefer, De Dorismi in trag. Gr. usu, p. 3, says: "Ceterum non potest dubitare quin tragici in eligendis Dorismis aliquatenus dithyrambicorum secuti sint auctoritatem".

<sup>3</sup> On Arion see Christ, Gr. Lit. (1890) 135, Haigh, l. c., 16 ff., and Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.



of tragedy? That some of these forms also appear in Homer does not make them any less Doric. This agreement enabled them to serve a double purpose, in that they are appropriate to the heroic characters of tragedy, and at the same time show a deference on the part of the tragedians to Doric originals. All the alien forms of tragedy, as Gerth, l. c., p. 268, has shown, are found in Doric choral poetry. Many of these alienisms never appear in Homer. Here is agreement with the one and disagreement with the other. If the epic influence upon tragedy is so strong that *πορί* and *-σσ-* cannot be called Doric, how comes it that the tragedians in striking opposition to Homeric usage employ *βᾶλόν*, *ἐκάτι*, *δαίος*, *γῆτόμος*, etc.? Or why the frequent use of Doric *νίν*<sup>1</sup> to the exclusion of epic *μίν*? These usages show clearly that to the tragedians Doric was the important dialect.<sup>2</sup> According to the law of Greek literature already mentioned Athenian tragedy should show some of the characteristic forms of the Dorian originals. It is not credible then that the tragedians who had received *ā*, *σσ*, *πορί*, *σύν*, etc. in choral poetry, should retain of these only *ā* as a mark of indebtedness to the Dorians, reject by some occult means the other Doric forms, and then import the same forms from Ionia. In these professed imitations or developments of Dorian originals it is not necessary to prove that the borrowed forms are Doric. The burden of proof rests with those who hold that in such a tragic form as *θαλάσσοῦς* the ending may be Doric but the sibilants are Ionic. In all the works on the dialect of tragedy I have failed to find any reason for such a view. So long as *ā* stands in the chorus, so long should *-σσ-*, *σύν*, etc. remain as memorials of the Doric origin of tragedy.<sup>3</sup> This applies also to apocope which is a mark of Aeolic and Doric as contrasted with Ionic and Attic. Kirchhoff, according to Smyth, Ionic Dialect, 273 n. 1, believes that the instances

<sup>1</sup> Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 445, n. 2, says *νίν* was doubtless Old Attic, for what reason I do not know. The form occurs about 65 times in the trimeter of Sophocles.

<sup>2</sup> If it be asked why *ξεῖνος* and *μοῖνος* or *Θρηξ* appear in tragedy, it may be said in reply first, that these forms are found in the Doric lyrics and may rightly appear in tragedy as imitated forms; and secondly that Doric occasionally shows *ει* and *ου*. Cf. Ahrens, 190, *κεινός*, *Ξεινιάδας*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Kirchhoff, acc'd to Smyth, p. 306, holds that the presence of *σσ* is due to textual corruption, and Fick, BB XIV 253, would change *σσ* to *ττ* in Attic writers. If these views are correct, all other Doric forms should be eliminated from tragedy.

of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence. Rather is it a mark of the dithyrambic poetry, the practices of which poetry, tragedy was free, or was forced, to imitate, and to some extent an evidence of the long residence of Aeschylus among a people who used it freely. There is no reason for regarding it in tragedy as an imitation of Homeric rather than of Doric usage.

The extent and importance of the Doric element in tragedy is thus made apparent, and it appears, I believe, that the Doric coloring of the dialogue was designed to be but little less than that of the chorus. Koehler, *De Dorismi* . . . apud Aesch. *necessitudine*, p. 4, finds that some parts of the choral odes were composed without a single Doric form. In Ag. 40-102 there are, according to Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, 367, only four Doricisms, and in the *parodos* of the *Antigone* only four in 27 lines. But the Doric of the chorus is in a way differentiated from that of the dialogue. In the latter the Doric tinge is obtained by the use of Doric words and of  $\bar{a}$  for  $\eta$  in the stem, whereas the chorus exhibits the Doric cast most strikingly in the ending. The aesthetic effect in the dialogue was obtained in more limited ways, and this restriction seems to have been due to the use of the iambic metre. The iambs of the new Ionic, approaching as they did so closely to prose expression, could not tolerate so many of the forms of Dorian poetry as could the metres of the choral odes.<sup>1</sup>  $\eta$  was a characteristic feature of the Ionic iambs,  $\bar{a}$  a mark of the dithyrambic dialogue. The old race strife which broke forth was settled by a compromise, the use of Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$  and  $\rho$ , with an occasional form of Doric poetry for aesthetic effect.

In addition to the Doric forms, tragedy contains a few cases of *psilosis*, some twenty cases of the omission of the augment,<sup>2</sup> some half dozen Aeolisms, a few doubtful Ionisms as above and some fifty forms called poetic,<sup>3</sup> which can hardly be assigned to any dialect. Gerth, *Curt. Stud.* I 2, 268, as seen above, noted that all the alien forms of tragedy are found in choral poetry. This coin-

<sup>1</sup> On the rhythms of the dithyramb cf. Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. lv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lautensach, *Gram. Stud. zu den Gr. Tragikern und Komikern* (1899) 181.

<sup>3</sup> These are mainly verb forms as  $\piίνω$ ,  $μῖμνω$ , nine aorists like  $\epsilonἰκαθεῖν$ ,  $\ἀνασχεθεῖν$ ,  $\phiάος$ ,  $\phiασφόρος$  and  $\ὑπαί$ ,  $\ἡδέ$ ,  $\ιδέ$ ,  $αῖα$ ,  $γαῖα$ ,  $σφάς$ ,  $\ἦμιν$ ,  $πολλός$ ,  $αὔτε$ , etc.

vidence explains satisfactorily the use of these few Ionic and Aeolic forms by the tragedians. It is true that these forms are quite appropriate to the heroic characters of tragedy, but the presence of such personages merely rendered more acceptable the continuance in tragedy of some characteristics of the Dorian models, that is, the use of an occasional epic form.<sup>1</sup> It is held also that plagiarism and the Ionic source of the iambic metre affected the tragic diction. Quotations from the Ionic poets<sup>2</sup> occasioned at most the use of a few poetic words or forms, and the iambic metre merely served to restrain the use of the Doric forms. Rutherford, as we have seen above (p. 289) rightly remarks that "in Greek literature different kinds of composition had a tendency generally to adhere to the dialect in which they started", and Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 69, (also Wittekind, l. c., p. 3) suggests that the Ionic source of the iambic metre should then have given an Ionic coloring to the dialogue. That the rule however was not inviolable is shown by the fact that there is no Ionic coloring in the dialogue of comedy. Here the characters employ the dialect appropriate to them, and neither metrical considerations nor earlier models avail to force inappropriate speech upon any character. For this reason the iambs of comedy do not show an Ionic coloring or a Doric cast. The tragedians however adhered to the practices of choral poetry, putting, strange to say, Doric forms into the mouths of epic personages, because they found already well-established a Doric-epic speech. This form of speech which was eminently appropriate in such poetry as the Stesichorean versions of epic tales, precursors of tragedy, had become familiar at Athens, and was retained in the Attic dithyramb and tragedies without objection on the score of propriety. In no other way is it possible to explain the use of Doric forms by the epic characters of the dialogue. Where comedy, as in the chorus or the paratragedic parts, had precedents, there also was

<sup>1</sup>"Stesichorus created a High-Doric dialect by combining epic with Doric". (Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 258). The epic element in lyric poetry is generally admitted, so that a discussion here is unnecessary. Cf. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* (1900) p. 19, and the works there cited: G. Meyer<sup>3</sup>, p. 3: Farnell *Greek Lyric Poetry*, p. 77. On the union of epic and lyric elements in the drama see Zarncke, *Die Entsteh. der Gr. Literaturensprachen*, pp. 5-8, Azelius, *De Assim. syntact.* apud Soph. (1897) p. 1; and on the influence of Stesichorus on tragedy, Christ, *Gr. Lit.* p. 136, Mahaffy, *Gr. Lit.*, I 1, 225, Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Clemens, *Alex. Stromat.* VI, p. 738 (Pott), Donaldson, *Theatre*, pp. 56, 59 n. 1, Verrall, *JHS* I, 260, II 179.

adherence to earlier practices. Another thing which may have affected Athenian poetry was the presence at Athens of Anacreon, Simonides and Lasus at the very time when tragedy was being developed on Attic soil. Gorgias seems to have influenced strongly Attic oratory<sup>1</sup> at a time when Athens was the literary center of Greece, and it is quite possible that at an earlier time when the literary and political position of Athens was insignificant, the presence of such a poet as Anacreon would have appreciably affected Attic literature, had it not been that his influence was restricted and ultimately eclipsed by the popularity of the Dorian lyric, possibly by the favor shown the choral songs of Simonides and Lasus. However this may be, Dorian poetry prevailed. Anacreon left Athens but the Dorian remained. The presence of the latter can hardly have been without effect upon Attic poetry. Lasus was at Athens during Aeschylus' infancy and down to the time when the latter began his poetical career. By reason of his innovations in music,<sup>2</sup> his position at the court and his nationality, his commanding position in the dithyramb—even being called its inventor,<sup>3</sup> and his personal association with the first tragedians, he was, I believe, a determining factor in the form of Attic representations of Doric inventions. How he affected the language of tragedy cannot now be determined, but it is probable that his presence and activity in the dithyramb tended to preserve the Doric element of the earlier models. Such influence as the Ionic poetry may have exerted upon the early tragedians was further minimized by the subsequent removal of Aeschylus to Dorian territory. The Ionic element in Sophocles, as seen above, is much greater than in Aeschylus, and this is quite possibly due to the fact that when the former was subjected to Ionic influence—by association with Herodotus,<sup>4</sup>—there was no counteracting influence. Thus early did Dorian supremacy assert itself at Athens, and it is singular that the forms of literature in which the Athenians became espe-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Phil. Untersch.*, VII 312, Maass, *Hermes*, XXII 566 f. Blass, *Att. Bered.* I 56 f. Nieschke, *De Thuc. Antiph. disc. takes*, and I believe properly, an opposing view.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *De Musica*, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. to the *Birds*, 1403. For the facts concerning Lasus see Christ, *Gk. Lit.* (1890) p. 157, Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. OC 337 and Hdt. II 35 (Cf. Jebb, *ad loc.*), Ant. 905 and Hdt. III 119 etc., Haigh, *Trag. Drama*, 136, n. 2.

cially pre-eminent, the drama and oratory, should have been developments of Dorian originals.

These circumstances explain that foreign air in the tragic diction which was noticed by Herodian who says: *περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* 497 (L): οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, οἱ γὰρ τραγικοὶ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν εἰώθασιν κεχρῆσθαι. But Rutherford in the Introduction to the New Phrynichus, pp. 3-4, maintains that "the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life . . . It must however be remembered that the tragic poetry of Athens contained words, expressions and metaphors which it would be ridiculous to employ in other species of composition or in the course of ordinary conversation"<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to speak soberly of the last statement, which seems however to be rather a careless expression than an accurate representation of his position. The fallacy of Rutherford's theory is very clearly shown by the testimony of the surviving monuments of Old Attic. This matter has received most recently a thorough treatment by Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 66 f., who finds that not only was old Attic free from the characteristic Ionic forms *η* after *ε*, *ι*, *ρ*, *ου* for *ο*, *ευ* for *ου*, *ει* for *ε*, but that such forms as *ξείνος* and *μοῦνος* are pure Ionic and never existed in Old Attic at any period<sup>2</sup>. The inscription from Sigeum which is little later than 600 B. C. shows the two dialects were differentiated at that early period, and is a severe criticism of the theory that Attic speech two generations later was still Ionic in form and vocabulary. But Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, p. 365, regards Rutherford's view as beyond dispute, so that further consideration of this theory seems demanded. Rutherford could hardly have put forth this view, if he had known the extent of the foreign element in tragedy. In Aeschylus alone there are, I estimate, about 5800 poetic or so-called Old Attic words. It is not possible that so many words survived for centuries in the colloquial Attic, but as soon as they were extensively employed in tragedy—and certain parts of comedy too—as soon as litera-

<sup>1</sup> If the language of tragedy is to throw any light on Old Attic, it must be reliable, viz., pure, otherwise it will be impossible to distinguish Old Attic forms from Epic and Doric importations, or from Aeschylean and Euripidean inventions. Haigh, l. c., p. 366, attempts to select epic and Old Attic words, but there is of course no basis for such selection.

<sup>2</sup> Un-Attic forms of foreign names and in metrical inscriptions require, of course, no discussion. On the foreign element in Athens see Plato, *Crat.* 406, *Lys.* 223 A, and for a general discussion of this element, Kretschmer, *KZ*, XXIX 38 ff.



ture developed they forthwith dropped out of use. Such a theory is wholly at variance with the principles of the conservation of language, and requires evidence of the most convincing kind to substantiate it. On the contrary, Rutherford offers only the statement that the language of tragedy has many points of resemblance to the language of Herodotus and Hippocrates, and therefore is Old Attic<sup>1</sup>. If this reasoning is valid, one may prove in the same way that the Doric element in the chorus is a survival in Attic of the language in vogue when Attic and Doric had not yet separated<sup>2</sup>, or that the numerous Attic forms in Herodotus are survivals from the period when Ionic had not yet separated from Attic. It is necessary first to prove that these alien forms could not have crept into tragedy or Ionic in any other way. But Herodotus and Hippocrates are rather questionable authorities for determining matters of dialect. The ancients noticed their use of *ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά*<sup>3</sup>. Both were Dorians who traveled extensively, both are said to have been in Athens, and the works of both have a decided Attic coloring. Rutherford refers indifferently to both the spurious and the genuine works of Hippocrates, although it is impossible to see how the usages of certain divers medical writings of Hellenistic or Roman times are of any value in determining the character of 6th century Attic. Herodotus was called the Thurian by Aristotle<sup>4</sup> and Pliny says the history was composed at Thurii. Naturally there would be some resemblances to tragic diction in this *Θούριος* (*Ἀθηναῖος*) *λογοποιός*, but these are in a measure signs of Athenian residence and association with the tragedians. The theory of Rutherford then is based largely on the diction of a tragedian who lived for a time and wrote some of his works among Dorians, and on that of a

<sup>1</sup> Schulhof, *Attic, Ionic and Tragic*, pp. 1, 6, 7, holds that the basis of the language of tragedy is to be found in Archilochus and Simonides of Amorgos.

<sup>2</sup> The review of Old Attic by Smyth, l. c., also refutes clearly Barlen's claim that Old Attic abounded with forms showing Doric  $\tilde{a}$ . Barlen's theory is more objectionable than Rutherford's, for the view of the latter is based on the fact that Ionic and Attic were at no very early date one dialect, whereas Attic and Doric separated long before Attic and Ionic became distinct dialects.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rutherford, p. 161, and on the epic element in *Hdt. Mure*, *Gr. Lit.* IV App. q, Hoffmann, III 186, and the works and grammarians cited by Smyth, 80. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Christ, *Gr. Lit.* (1898) p. 328. The title "Thurian" indicates not so much long residence, as Strabo holds, but renown acquired while a resident there. A man is called after the scene of his achievements, not after the scenes of his inactive life.

Dorian who lived a long time and possibly revised his whole history among Athenians. The value of deductions from such facts is apparent.

This matter of foreign residence and its effect upon purity of speech is of importance in the study of ancient authors. The Greeks themselves in passing judgment upon the dialect of any one took into consideration foreign residence, and a glance at the Greek writers shows the need of such action. Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Aristophanes wrote among Athenians and their speech is comparatively pure. The Greek of the men who traveled or wrote among foreigners is markedly irregular and impure. Xenophon and Aristotle need but a mention. Thucydides and Andocides present many divergences from the Attic norm; Herodotus, Hippocrates and Solon<sup>1</sup> present a hopeless confusion as to dialect. Campbell in the Introduction to his Plato notes that the poetic element increases in the later dialogues when the philosopher is more exposed to the influence of Magna Graecia. The language of Xenophon differs in many respects from the Attic norm, and Rutherford very properly refuses to accept as authoritative Attic all his usages. The same treatment should certainly be applied to all writers who transgress in the same way and for the same reason. It is apparent then that not every word and form on Attic soil are to be accepted unconditionally as old Attic, and those who would on the strength of a few isolated forms reconstruct old Attic are rearing an inverted pyramid, and that too on a very insecure apex.

It remains to speak of one more theory concerning the occurrence of alien forms in Greek tragedy, viz., the influence of metrical considerations. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 76 says that "the necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted." Jebb, *OR* 1418, expresses the same sentiment. This theory would refute Rutherford's view of the source of the alien forms of tragedy, but the influence of the metre seems to be greatly exaggerated. Dialectic forms and words are not employed in the dialogue of comedy, although the

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides and Solon are possibly affected also by earlier works in their respective lines of composition. The occurrence of  $\sigma\sigma$  in Thuc. and Antiphon may be ascribed to the influence of the usages of Ionic historical writers or to the Sicilian rhetoric, but I believe that the foreign residence of the one and the anti-democratic tendencies of the other made them more ready to accept the usages which prevailed in all Greek literature.

metre was the same. But one poetic form, the ending *-μεσθα* is ever admitted into comedy. Furthermore the presence of *γαμόρος*, *γατόμος*, *δαρός*, *ἐκάτι*, *βᾶλόν*, *ἔθυνεν*, *φάεινος* = *φαινός*, and many similar forms is sufficient evidence that metrical demands were not the determining factor in the selection of forms. *γᾶ-* is used in the dialogue but *γη-* in the chorus. Editors would not tolerate this variation for a moment were it not for the testimony of the grammarians. *ξείνος* and *μοῦνος*, *αἶα* and *γαῖα* are used for the same reason as *γαμόρος* and *γατόμος*, *δαρός* and *βᾶλόν*. There were then no exigencies of metre which were superior to aesthetic considerations, and the diction of tragedy is not determined by metrical necessities, but results from a free selection of forms which show at once an appreciation of the need of suiting the speech to the character, and above all a knowledge of indebtedness to foreign originals.

No less striking than the results obtained by a comparison of the Doric and Ionic forms are those obtained by a comparative study of the tragic vocabulary. Some attention has been given to the vocabulary of a few Greek writers, but the results have been relatively of little value because of lack of comparison with others. The abnormal character of the tragic diction may readily be seen by a comparison with that of other writers. In every author the words considered are taken in alphabetical order.

Of 500 words from Aeschylus 383 are un-Attic<sup>1</sup> or 76 per cent.

112	"	"	Antiphon 10	"	"	"	9	"
120	"	"	Hipponax 26	"	"	"	22	"
100	"	"	Thucydides 22	"	"	"	22	"
96	"	"	Archil. iamb. 23	"	"	"	24	"
143	"	"	" any metre 44	"	"	"	31	"
100	"	"	Herodotus 26	"	"	"	26	"
400	"	"	Attic Inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. 10 are rare or 2½ per cent.					

123 words from Ionic Inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. 10 are un-Attic or 9 per cent.

From this table it appears that the vocabulary of the old Ionic inscriptions was very similar to that of old and classical Attic.

<sup>1</sup> By un-Attic words is meant here poetic, rare or dialectic words. It is not likely that any two persons would arrive at exactly the same results in this work, but I believe that the relative results, which is the important thing, would agree. By far the greater number of words can readily be assigned to the poetic or prose column, so that there is not much chance for disagreement.

Moreover Hipponax, Herodotus and Archilochus<sup>1</sup> (in his iambs) are about as close to the speech of Lysias as is the latter's contemporary, Thucydides. This is the more surprising as Archilochus was called 'Ὀμηρικώτατος.'<sup>2</sup> Herodotus by reason of the scope of his history would naturally employ many strange terms, while Hipponax, many of whose fragments are preserved by the lexicographers, merely on account of some peculiar form, was noted for his use of unusual words, and the delvers after curiosities in language found in him a rich field.<sup>3</sup> It is clear then that Ionic, although clearly separated from Attic, is quite close to this dialect but in a very different way, however, than Rutherford imagined. In the following poets a greater divergence from the Attic norm is shown.

Of 139 words from Anacreon	62 are un-Attic or 44 per cent.
119 " " Simonides Am.	50 " " " 42 "
105 " " Homer	80 " " " 76 "

Anacreon's iambic poetry has perished, so that little knowledge of Ionic is to be gained from his works in this metre<sup>4</sup>. Simonides' fragments show that he paraphrased or copied rather loosely the Hesiodic epic, and this explains the large number of poetic words in his poems. Of the 80 un-Attic words in Homer 44 are epic, 29 are poetic and 7 appear rarely in prose, so that Homer may be called essentially non-Ionic as well as un-Attic.

The peculiar character of the tragic diction is shown very clearly by these comparisons. It is in respect to vocabulary about as far removed from Attic as is Homer, and apparently is as unlike Ionic as it is unlike Attic. Exclusive of proper names the approximate number of words in Aeschylus is 7700. At the same ratio as above about 5800 words would be poetic. It is manifest that these words could not, as Rutherford asserts, have been drawn from the Attic of Thespis' time. Three causes seem to have combined to differentiate the speech of Aeschylus from that of the Attic and Ionic writers, his residence abroad,<sup>5</sup> his peculiar

<sup>1</sup> This study of Archilochus' vocabulary appears to substantiate Smyth's view of the epic element in elegy as against Hoffmann, who holds that the epic element in the earlier elegists, Archilochus and Callinus, is altogether absent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Laeger, *De vet. epicorum studio in Archil.* . . . Hippon. reliquis conspicuo (1885) p. 7; Deuticke, *Archil. Paroquid in graec. litteris sit tribuendum*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bergk, *Gr. Lit.* II 330, and Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> For his vocabulary see Weber, *Anacreontea* (1895).

<sup>5</sup> On this point cf. Macrobius, *Sat. V* 19, 17; *Athen. XV* 89; *Eust. Od.*, p. 1872 *Plut. de exil.* 13.

genius,<sup>1</sup> and the usages of dithyrambic poetry. The first cause is of least importance, and has been considered above. The second cause brought out those "horse-crested", "high-paced" words, and inspired Aristophanes to call Aeschylus ἀγροποῖός . . . κομποφακελορρήμων, but although this gave a certain unique character to his speech, it was relatively of little importance even in his case, and is merely an incident in the tragic diction as a whole. The great part of the foreign element is undoubtedly due to the third cause. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III 3, says that compound words were the especial prerogative of the dithyramb,<sup>2</sup> and Aeschylus appears to have utilized the privilege to the fullest extent. Todt, *De Aesch. vocabulorum inventore*, finds 1100 new words in the extant plays, possibly 14,000 such words in the complete works. Verily Aeschylus was a ποιητῆς ἰδίων ὀνομάτων.<sup>3</sup> The life of these words was for the most part coextensive with that of their creator, but the precedent had been established, and the liberties taken with the Greek speech were continued by the later dramatists. Over 1000 words appear for the first time in Sophocles,<sup>4</sup> and about 850 in Euripides.

The relation which the diction of the dialogue tragedy bears to that of the chorus is shown very clearly by the following comparison. Of 500 words considered 383 are poetic, and of these un-Attic words 134 are found in the dialogue only, 160 in the chorus only, 60 in both dialogue and chorus and 29 in fragments. The total number of poetic words in the dialogue is 194, and in the chorus 220 with the 29 from the fragments to be divided pro rata. So evenly distributed are the un-Attic words that it is clear the tragedians did not observe any distinction in the diction of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vita of Aeschylus, Dionysius 2, 10, Epicharmus, Schol. Eum. 626, Quintil. X, I, 66.

<sup>2</sup> These seem to abound in lyric poetry. "As an inventor of striking compounds Stesichorus is the precursor of Pindar". Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Homer in 706 Teubner pages employs about 6700 words (estimate); Aeschylus in 276 Teubner pages employs about 7700 words.

<sup>4</sup> On the diction of Sophocles cf. schol. ad. OC 1648; Diog. Laert. IV 3. 7; Kuenstler, *De vocibus apud Soph. primum obviis*, and similar titles by Schindler, Kriebitzsch, Schulz, Kotsmich, Jasper, Juris; Ludewig, *De dictionis Soph. ubertate*, and similar title by Schmidt; and Campbell Intr. to his Sophocles. For Euripides see Schirlitz, *De serm. trag. per Eurip. incrementis*, Funck, *De praep. . . in Eurip. probato*, Curt. Stud. IX 113, Mommsen, *Lehre von den Gr. Praep.* (1895) p. 76. Many barbarian words also appear in the tragedians, as κινάκης, μαγίς, σινδών, etc.



the choral and spoken parts. This fact is also demonstrated by a table showing the disposition of synonyms<sup>1</sup> in Aeschylus. Attention is desired here especially to the location of words with the metrical scheme  $\cup$  —, and  $\cup \cup$  —.

Prose Words.	Dial. Ch.	Poetic Words.	Dial. Ch.	Prose Words.	Dial. Ch.	Poetic Words.	Dial. Ch.
ἀγαθός	3 15	ἑσθλός	5 5	ἀκόλουθος	0 0	ὀπαδός	1 0
σοφός	12 2	κεδνός	5 9	θεράπων	0 0	ὀπάων	3 0
ἀληθής, -ές	8 2	ἐτήτυμος	0 1	θεράπαινα	0 0	ἀμφίπολος	0 0
ἀψευδής, -ές	4 2	ἐτύμος	0 4				
		ναμερτής	1 0	πάνν	0 3	πάγχν	1 0
ἀληθῶς	3 1	ἐτύμως	0 3	πάντως	6 3		
		ἐτητύμως	2 0	ἱμάτιον	0 0	φᾶρος	4 1
μέλας	6 11	μελάγχιμος	4 1				
(μέλᾱνος)		(only in gen. Dat.)		ικέτης	5 6	ἐφέστιος	4 0
		κελαινός	4 5				
ἀθάνατος	0 5	ἄφθιτος	3 0	ἄνωθεν	4 3	ἀνέκαθεν	0 3
ἐφήμερος	3 0	ἐφημέριος	0 1	κάτω	5 2	ἐνερθε	3 2
ποταμός	6 8	ῥέος	3 1	κεφαλῇ	1 0	κάρῦ	12 9
ῥεῦμα	2 2	ῥέεθρον	2 1			κράς	5 2
ῥοή	2 0	νᾶμα	2 0			κράτα	
						(Soph.)	6 3
ῥόος	0 1					κράτα, τὰ	
						(Soph.)	1 1
γενεᾶ	0 4	γέννα	6 3	δίδυμος	0 6	δίπολος	0 1
γονή	1 1	γένεθλον	3 1	διπλοῦς	8 6	δίφνιοι	0 1
γόνος	2 1	τέκνωμα	1 0	δισσός	2 1		
		φῆτνμα	1 0	διπλάσιος	0 0		
ἀμφιβόλως	0 1	ἀμφιλέκτως	1 0			πέλω	often
ἀμφιλόγως	0 1			εἰμί	often	τελέθω	0 4

It is apparent that words were not assigned to the chorus by reason of their poetical nature, nor to the dialogue because of their prosaic character. Metre determined the placing of the words, but was not, as seen above in the case of the forms, the cause of their introduction into tragedy. A well-known rule of early iambic structure is here revealed, that the anapaest was abhorred by the trimeter. Here is to be obtained also, I believe, the explanation of the great difference between the structure of the tragic trimeter and that of comedy.<sup>2</sup> In Aristophanes there is one

<sup>1</sup> I have followed Schmidt's *Synonymik der Gr. und Lat. Sprachen*, and Dindorf's *Lex. Aeschyleum*. Absolute exactness in this sort of work is of course impossible, but it is hoped that the above words are in the main equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> The ancients distinguished four kinds of iambic trimeter, τραγικός, κωμικός, σατυρικός, καὶ . . . ἱαμβικός. Cf. Christ, *Metrik* p. 340.

anapaest to every  $2\frac{1}{2}$  verses; in Aeschylus there are 53 anapaests to some 4500 iambic verses,<sup>1</sup> and here the anapaests are mainly due to proper names.<sup>2</sup> The difference in the structure of the iambics of tragedy and comedy was due to the rules concerning dialect and vocabulary. To tragedy was allotted freedom in diction, but the strict construction of early iambic verse was enforced. Comedy was restricted to Attic forms and words, but as compensation for purity of diction, freedom of metrical construction was allowed. Epic words are freely used by Archilochus, but there is more strictness in regard to resolution and the use of anapaests. The Attic element is greater in Euripides and so is the number of anapaests. Metrical license then was the price of dialectic purity.

It remains to treat of the vocabulary of the Old Attic speech. Keil, *Die Solonische Verfassung*, p. 59, greatly errs in holding that there was a very great difference between 6th and 5th century Attic. His contention is based on the speech of Aeschylus which he says was grounded in 6th century Attic, the authentic remains of the laws of Solon, and the inscriptional words *ιερουργοῦντες*, *ζακόρους*,<sup>3</sup> *ὄνθος*, *ἰπνέουσθαι*, *θωῶν*; CIA IV 3, 18, p. 138; *θωῶν ἐπιβαλεῖν*, *δήμον πληθύοντος*, CIA I 57; *διχομηρία*, CIA I, 1; *ἀπόπαξ*, I 286, 288; *οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ ἔργῳ*, IV I 27 a; *ἐπιώψατο*, *ἐπιοφθέντες*, II 948; (about 300 B. C.). The first reason is a mere opinion unsupported by facts, and has been shown to be without foundation. The other reasons will be considered in reverse order. *ἐπιώψατο* and *ἐπιοφθέντες* by reason of their date cannot be tolerated in this discussion. How the use of a word about 300 B. C. proves that it became obsolete about 500 B. C., or indicates the character of 6th century Attic it is impossible to see. But admitting that Keil's notion about the other words is correct,—it certainly is not,—even then his theory of 6th century Attic is clearly erroneous. It is a fact commonly known that in every author there occur a certain number of rare or uncommon words. In five plays of Aeschylus there are 488 words found nowhere else,<sup>4</sup> approximately 700 such words in the extant plays, or about 9 per cent of his vocabulary. In Thucydides 3 per cent, in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rumpel, *Philol.* XXVIII 610, XXV 549.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀγαμέμνων* six times, *Πυλάδης* three times, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *ζάκορος* was probably brought into Attic along with some foreign cult. In Nikander, *Alexiph.* 217, the term is used of the devotee of Cybele. On foreign deities at Athens see Müller's *Hdb.* V 3. p. 127-8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mitchell, *Frogs*, 802.

Antiphon 2 per cent, and in Anacreon 10 per cent of the words are not used by other writers.<sup>1</sup> The words mentioned by Keil form about 2 per cent of the words in the prose inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. Allowing from 2 per cent to 10 per cent as a legitimate number of odd words for each author or set of writings, there is not much left to indicate any remarkable change in the Attic speech. But Keil's interpretation of the isolated occurrence of these words is arbitrary and erroneous. In the consideration of these terms it must not be forgotten that new words came into Attic after Draco's time because of the troubled economic and political conditions, the influx of foreigners, of foreign literature and religious observances. The words quoted by Keil are all found after 500 B. C., and it is not clear why they are regarded as a relic of former rather than evidence of new usage. All that can reasonably be inferred in this matter is this: Whenever a word of common meaning as ἀπόπαξ = σύμπαν, ἱερουργοῦντες = ἱερεῖς, θωᾶν = ζημιᾶν or τιμᾶν, is not found in epic, new Ionic or Doric, the presumption is that it belongs to the new speech. Such words as ὄνθος, ἰπνεύεσθαι "to bake in an oven", because of their meaning are necessarily uncommon in literature, and cannot therefore be said to be old words which became obsolete shortly after the 6th century. Specifically the facts about these words are as follows: θωᾶν, ζακόρους, ἰπνεύεσθαι, ἱερουργοῦντες, ἀπόπαξ and διχομηρία are found only in the Attic inscriptions or lexicographers, and therefore are to be regarded as new forms in Attic. The same is true of the additional forms not quoted by Keil, παραιβάτης, CIA I 5 1; ὀλείζων,<sup>2</sup> I, 1, τριττόν βόαρχον I, 5. Of the other words θωή is found in Homer twice, possibly in Archilochus once (em.), in the covenant between Oeanthia and Chaleion, and is apparently an unpopular word in all the dialects, although from its meaning it might be expected to appear frequently. πληθύω is common in the later Attic and is manifestly a new word. The expression οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ ἔργῳ in the oath which the Chalcidians swear to the Athenians is possibly a Chalcidian formula added to the regular Attic οὔτε τέχνη οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ (cf. Thuc. V 47, 2; 47, 10), inserted as a sop to the Ionic covenanters in imitation of the epos or for additional sanctity. No one will deny that each century witnessed some changes in the Attic speech, but it is unwarranted to assert that all rare 5th century

<sup>1</sup>I have considered here 100 words in alphabetical order from each author.

<sup>2</sup>Brugmann, Gr. Gr. (1900) p. 569 regards ὀλείζων as a late form.

inscriptional forms are a survival from hoary antiquity, in common use in the 6th century, but obsolete soon afterwards. So far as can be judged the majority of them are new words.

In Lysias several of the old laws are quoted to show that some words were formerly in use that are not found in later times. These are *ἐπιορκήσαντα* = *ὀμόσαντα*, *ἀπίλλει*, *δρασκάζειν*, *πολοῦνται οἰκῆος*, *ποδοκάκκη*, *πεφασμένον*, *στάσιμον* = 'money at interest'. Nearly all of these words are confined to Solon, whose language is properly subject to suspicion. The laws are the works of a traveler who spent the years of his youth in foreign parts in contact with tradespeople where a foreign idiom is most noticeable, and peculiarities of dialect best acquired. There can be no doubt that if Solon was away from Athens in early life and again in later years, his speech would have a foreign air. It is significant that Solon himself recognized this truth, his statement on this point being preserved in fragment 32.<sup>1</sup> That he borrowed laws from abroad is conclusively shown by the statement of Herodotus, II 177: *Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρεώνται.*<sup>2</sup> Of the terms quoted by Lysias which are found elsewhere than in Solon *πολέομαι* meaning "to upturn with the plow" (polare agros of Ennius) in the active occurs in Hesiod, Op. 4 60: as meaning "to walk" is found only in tragedy, so that it can hardly be called an old Ionic-Attic word. *οἰκεύς*, which appears in Homer and Sophocles, is a common term in the Gortyna code, and its presence in Solon is probably due to the adoption of a Cretan law. The most notable Solonian words are *ἄξονες* and *κύρβεις*. The former is probably an Attic but its fellow is demonstrably an imported word. Theophrastus derived it *ἀπὸ τῶν Κρητικῶν Κορυβάντων*, and Apollodorus also says it was an invention of the Corybantes.<sup>3</sup> These priests were the Phrygian devotees of Rhea in distinction from the Cretan Curetes and

<sup>1</sup> The laws of Charondas were written in verse and said to have been chanted in Athens. Plutarch, Solon III mentions the claim that Solon's laws also were composed in verse.

<sup>2</sup> Headlam, JHS XIII 50-69 finds some notable similarities between the procedure of the Gortyna code and Draco's law of murder, which was said to have come from Crete. But the law of Draco preserved on the *πρῶτος ἄξων* CIA I 61 is very like later Attic. On the old term *κωλακρέται* cf. Gilbert, Gr. Const. Ant. (trans. 1895), p. 114 note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *κύρβις* = *κυρβάσις*, the distinctive Asiatic hat, and Cretan *Κύρβαντες*.

the Idaean Dactyli.<sup>1</sup> The term *κύρβις* may have been obtained by Solon from Crete, but its origin appears clearly to be in the East.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the failure of the Athenians to understand the meanings of Solon's statutes may have been due in part to the number of foreign expressions in them. Solon then cannot be taken as a criterion of old Attic. In Demosthenes, 630, 28 occurs an un-Attic word: τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ἀποιναῖν, μὴ χρήματα πράττεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἀποινα ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί. Plato's use of ἀποινα, Laws IX 862 C, Rep. III 393 E has no weight. Rutherford l. c. overlooks the fact that the word in the Republic is in a paraphrase of the Chryses' incident of the Iliad, and the use in the Laws, in a conversation between a Spartan, a Cretan and Athenian ξένος is hardly more reliable. The Ionic status of the word is equally uncertain. Herodotus uses it twice, but this may be due to his Dorian extraction and he is by no means a model of dialectic purity. Pindar employs the term frequently, and this indicates the source from which the word got into tragedy and the laws. Philochorus, fr. 94 (Müller, FHG I 399) has preserved an old law derived possibly from Cleisthenes: τοὺς δὲ φράτορας ἐπάναγκες δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀργεῶνας καὶ τοὺς ὁμογάλακτας, οὓς γεννήτας καλοῦμεν. ὁμογάλακτες is manifestly a "poetic" term, probably of late formation, which was unsuccessfully introduced for the older and also later common term γεννήται. Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 24, in his discussion of ὀργεῶν and kindred forms, completely misconstrues the facts. The words are post-Homeric, exceedingly rare except in 4th century Attic, where they are used by Lysias, Plato and often by Isaeus, who wrote a speech entitled Πρὸς Ὀργεῶνας.<sup>3</sup> Yet Rutherford finds in this evidence that the forms were a survival from Ionic-Attic, were in common use in Attic before 500 B. C., and became obsolete shortly afterwards. This is a flagrant misinterpretation of the facts. But in spite of their Attic use the words are probably no more Attic than Renaissance is native English. The verb ὀργιάζω represents the Oriental type of worship and the forms were doubtless im-

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the laws on the *Κύρβεις* at Athens were set up in the sanctuary of the Phrygian goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Despite Busolt, Gr. Gesch. II (1895) 291. On the etymology of the word cf. Roscher, Lex. Mythol. 2. p. 1607, and Wilamowitz, Aristotles und Athen, p. 45 Anm.

<sup>3</sup> In the 4th century a private cult of the Orgeones existed by which Cybele was honored in conformance with Phrygian observances. Cf. Curt., Das Metroon in Athen, p. 9 ff.; Roscher, Lex., Myth. 2, p. 1655.



ported along with the orgiastic cults of Bacchus and Aphrodite from the East with whom they were often associated. These things show very clearly the doubtful character of the strange terms in the old laws. It is impossible here to consider each law which has been preserved. Scores of references to the early laws have been collected by Telfy, *Corpus Juris Attici*, and Schelling, *De Solonis legibus apud oratores Atticos*. These laws exhibit regularly common Attic forms and words. Schelling, p. 6 holds that obsolete words and dialectic forms were expunged from the laws because "*nulla in iis flexio reperitur, quae formis dialectae Ionicae aut antiquioris Atticae similis sit; occurrunt ubique recentioris dialecti declinationes. Et quod ad ipsa vocabula attinet, vix unum aut alterum paullo obsoleto invenire quis possit*". But the bilingual inscription from Sigeum which dates from Solon's time, and the other prose inscriptions of the same early period, effectually dispose of the notion that the laws of Solon, if written in current Attic, must contain a mass of peculiar forms and words.

This survey of the language of tragedy and its relation to old Attic seems to establish the following conclusions: The alien forms are drawn from Doric poetry. The large number of un-Attic words is due in part to the adoption of the vocabulary of the dithyramb, and in part to the formation of new words after the manner of dithyrambic poetry. The presence of the large number of Doric forms in the dialogue seems to substantiate the statements above quoted that the Dorians had developed some form of dialogue before tragedy was cultivated on Attic soil. The diction of the dialogue is essentially the same as that of the chorus, the slight difference being due to a little greater restriction in the use of alienisms in the former on account of the use of the iambic metre. Words are assigned to the chorus or trimeter for metrical reasons, but alien forms are not introduced into tragedy metri gratia. Moreover the tragic diction is far removed from Ionic as this appears in Hipponax and the early inscriptions, and this divergence indicates also that the alienisms were drawn from another source. In short the language of tragedy commemorates the influence of the Dorian genius upon Athenian literature.

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## V.—CICERO'S APPRECIATION OF GREEK ART.

What was the attitude of Cicero toward those material works of art which we are wont to consider among the crowning glories of ancient Greek civilization?

From the time when he first came to Rome the young student was constantly in close touch with Greek culture. Among the teachers of his early days at the capital were Phaedrus the Epicurean, an Athenian<sup>1</sup>; Diodotus the Stoic, who even lived in Cicero's own house in the greatest intimacy with the young orator, and who afterward died there<sup>2</sup>; Philo, the leader of the Academic School, who came to Rome from Athens during the Mithridatic war<sup>3</sup>; Molo of Rhodes, who came to Rome in the interest of the Rhodian State during the dictatorship of Sulla<sup>4</sup>. He was *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, and his training in declamation was more often in Greek than in Latin, both because of its superior style, and because he could thus better avail himself of the correction of his Greek masters<sup>5</sup>. His letters abound in Greek quotations and phrases, and the greater number of his essays are based upon Greek originals. He was born, too, forty years after the sack of Corinth, and when, some ten years afterward, he came to Rome, he must have had daily before his eyes many of the famous works of Greek artists. It was a time when the artistic possessions of the East were the objects of the passion for collection on the part of rich amateurs, and when the palace and the villa at Rome, if not indeed the public square, were beginning to be filled with costly specimens. Again, at the age of twenty-eight, Cicero, for purposes of recreation and study, left Rome for a two years' absence in the East. Six months of this period was spent at Athens, the most famous center of culture of the time, and the remainder at various seats of intellectual activity in Asia Minor<sup>6</sup>. Lastly, the term of Cicero's quaestorship was passed in Sicily, itself filled with monuments of Greek art, monuments with whose location and character he had good reason, at least later, to become familiar; for it was three years

<sup>1</sup> Fam. XIII 1, 2; Att. XVI 7, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Brut. 89, 306.

<sup>4</sup> 90, 312.

<sup>5</sup> 90, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Brut. 90, 309.

<sup>6</sup> Brut. 91, 314-316.

after the expiration of his term of office that there occurred the prosecution of Verres, who had succeeded him in the island, for maladministration; and the fourth book of Cicero's second *actio* against Verres is called *De Signis* because of the numerous examples of theft of statues which are cited in it.

These facts indicate beyond all question a great predilection on the part of Cicero for the Greek language and for Greek intellectual products as manifested in the art of literature. In regard to the other forms of Greek art, with which in this paper we are more particularly concerned, they prove nothing, and possess significance only in that they create a presumption that he learned to understand and enjoy all phases of Greek art. Whether this presumption is true or false must be determined by a more minute examination of Cicero's works<sup>1</sup>. This yields the following results.

If the historian of ancient art were absolutely dependent upon Cicero for information, his history of ancient painting would present the following names: Apelles, Aglaophon, Polygnotus, Zeuxis, Timanthes, Parrhasius, Nicomachus, Aetion, and Protogenes. From information derived from sources elsewhere than in Cicero, we may arrange them chronologically as follows: Aglaophon and Polygnotus, of the early fifth century; Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Timanthes, of the later fifth century; Nicomachus, Aetion, Apelles, and Protogenes, of the fourth century. Such a history could tell its readers that Apelles was of Colophonian origin<sup>2</sup>, lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was his favorite painter<sup>3</sup>; that he was of great renown; that his most

<sup>1</sup> The subject of Cicero's attitude toward art has been treated by Koenig, *Diss. De Cicerone in Verrinis artis operum aestimatore et iudice*; by Stahr, in an essay in his *Torso II* pp. 209-230, Braunschweig, 1878; by Goehling, *Diss. De Cicerone artis aestimatore*, Halle 1877; and by Sandys pp. lxxi-lxxiv in the introduction to his *Orator*, Cambridge, 1885. Both Koenig and Stahr credit Cicero with more knowledge and enthusiasm in matters of art than he really had. Sandys and Goehling are substantially agreed in denying that Cicero possessed more than a superficial knowledge of art. The treatment of Goehling is the only one of the four which aims to present evidence in full from the whole body of Cicero's works, and in it he lays most emphasis on Cicero's deficiency in knowledge of art. My own paper was completed without reference to any of these works, and before I had access to them. In it the emphasis is laid on Cicero's lack of enthusiasm for Greek art rather than on his deficiency in knowledge of it. This, of course, is not to say that Cicero was not possessed of a fair amount of taste in ordinary matters, as for example, in the furnishing of his villas.

<sup>2</sup> *Or.* III 7, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Fam.* V 12, 7.

famous work was a painting of Venus for the people of Cos, of which he finished only the bust, leaving the remaining parts only begun, and that such was its excellence that no painter ever dared to attempt its completion<sup>1</sup>; that he was classed among those who attained absolute perfection<sup>2</sup>; that a saying of his was "that too much was a greater offense than too little, and that those painters were culpable who did not recognize the limit"<sup>3</sup>. Of Aglaophon such a history could say that he was among those who were perfect in their art;<sup>4</sup> of Polygnotus, Zeuxis, and Timanthes, that they used no more than four colors, and that their drawing was admirable;<sup>5</sup> of Zeuxis alone, that he was of Heraclea,<sup>6</sup> and perfect in his art;<sup>7</sup> of Parrhasius, that he enjoyed great fame;<sup>8</sup> of Nicomachos, that with Aetion, Protogenes, and Apelles he was classed as perfect;<sup>9</sup> of Aetion, that his painting had great charm;<sup>10</sup> of Protogenes, that he painted an Ialysus,<sup>11</sup> which Cicero saw at Rhodes.<sup>12</sup> It could tell its readers of a painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, in which Agamemnon was represented with head veiled,<sup>13</sup> of a painting of Paralus at Athens,<sup>14</sup> and of the fact that the possession of treasures of painting and sculpture was common to all the cities of Greece and Asia.<sup>15</sup> There is only one of these names dated, that of Apelles; the dates of the others could not even be conjectured without other aid than is afforded by Cicero. There is one item of interest on process, that concerning the use of not more than four colors by Polygnotus, Zeuxis, and Timanthes. There is one criticism of technique, that concerning the excellent drawing of the same masters. On the whole, what Cicero has to give us is a number of names of famous painters known from other evidence to have lived in the fifth and fourth centuries, with very commonplace and superficial comment, and with no utterance which has even a tendency to convince us that he cared for the art of painting to any degree worthy of the name of enthusiastic admiration.

Let us now examine what our author offers on the subject of sculpture. Of sculptors whom we know to have lived in the fifth century, there are mentioned, of the early part, Calamis, Cana-

<sup>1</sup> De Off. III 2, 10; Fam. I 9, 15; Verr. IV 60, 135; Or. 2, 5.

<sup>2</sup> De Or. III 7, 26; Brut. 18, 70. <sup>3</sup> Or. 22, 73. <sup>4</sup> De Or. III 7, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Brut. 18, 70.

<sup>6</sup> De Inv. II 1, 1.

<sup>7</sup> De Or. III 7, 26. Cf. Acad. II 47, 146.

<sup>8</sup> Tusc. Disp. I 2, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Brut. 18, 70.

<sup>10</sup> Parad. 37.

<sup>11</sup> Att. II 21, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Or. 2, 5; Verr. IV 60, 135. <sup>13</sup> Or. 22, 74. <sup>14</sup> Verr. IV. 60, 135. <sup>15</sup> Ibid.

chus, and Myron; of the last half, Alcamenes, Phidias, and Polyclitus. Of fourth century sculptors there are the names of Lysippus, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Silanion. The names of Polycles and Myrmecides, the former the author of a Hercules, the latter a *minutorum opusculorum fabricator*, both of uncertain date, are also mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The works of Canachus, we are told, were too rigid to be considered natural;<sup>2</sup> those of Calamis were rigid, but at the same time less unyielding than those of Canachus.<sup>3</sup> Myron excelled in art, together with Polyclitus and Lysippus, but all three were dissimilar in style.<sup>4</sup> While his works were not entirely truthful, no one would hesitate to call them beautiful;<sup>5</sup> a work of his gave pleasure comparable to that afforded by the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius.<sup>6</sup> Mention is made of the bronze cow of Myron at Athens,<sup>7</sup> of a bronze Hercules in the possession of Gaius Heius, at Messina, said to be Myron's,<sup>8</sup> and of a fine statue of Apollo at Agrigentum, with the name of Myron inscribed in very small silver letters on its thigh.<sup>9</sup> Of Alcamenes we are told that his Hephaestus at Athens, represented standing and lightly draped, showed the lameness of the god, but in a way not displeasing.<sup>10</sup> Comparatively frequent mention is made of Phidias, nearly always as illustrating supreme excellence.<sup>11</sup> Nothing more perfect of its kind exists than the works of Phidias;<sup>12</sup> the statues of Zeus and Athena are his highest creations;<sup>13</sup> a statue of Phidias is approved the instant it is seen;<sup>14</sup> the artist wrought his own likeness into the shield of the Athena Parthenos;<sup>15</sup> the great statues of Phidias were not likenesses of human beings whom he had contemplated, but there was dwelling in the soul of the artist a noble ideal of beauty, and it was toward the imitation of this ideal that he directed his hand.<sup>16</sup> Polyclitus is mentioned in a group of three, of which the other two are Zeuxis and Phidias, all of whom were great masters.<sup>17</sup> He is named again in company with Parrhasius.<sup>18</sup> Certain works of his were bought, or seized, by Verres, and ac-

<sup>1</sup> Att. VI 1, 17; Acad. II 38, 120.<sup>2</sup> Brut. 18, 70.<sup>3</sup> Ibid.<sup>4</sup> De Or. III 7, 26.<sup>5</sup> Brut. l. c.<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 19, 75.<sup>7</sup> Verr. IV 60, 135.<sup>8</sup> Verr. IV 3, 5.<sup>9</sup> 43, 95.<sup>10</sup> De Deor. Nat. I 30, 83.<sup>11</sup> De Or. 17, 73; Or. 2, 5; and passim.<sup>12</sup> Or. 2, 8.<sup>13</sup> 2, 5 and 9.<sup>14</sup> Brut. 64, 228.<sup>15</sup> Tusc. Disp. I 15, 34.<sup>16</sup> Or. 2, 9.<sup>17</sup> Acad. II 47, 146; De Finn. II 34, 115.<sup>18</sup> Tusc. Disp. I 2, 4.



companying them were also works of Praxiteles and Myron.<sup>1</sup> The Doryphorus of Polyclitus is coupled with the Zeus of Phidias as an example of the supreme in art;<sup>2</sup> and the same statue served as a model to Lysippus.<sup>3</sup> Certain canephorae in Messina were attributed to him,<sup>4</sup> and there was also a group by his hand consisting of Hercules clad in the lionskin, with the Hydra.<sup>5</sup> In the series of early sculptors of which three—Canachus, Calamis, and Myron—have been named, Polyclitus formed a fourth, seeming to Cicero to represent the perfection of the development of his art.<sup>6</sup> His statues arouse speechless admiration.<sup>7</sup> Lysippus himself was the favorite sculptor, as Apelles was the favorite painter, of Alexander the Great,<sup>8</sup> and executed a bust or statue of the famous ruler.<sup>9</sup> Together with Myron and Polyclitus, Lysippus was preëminent in his art.<sup>10</sup> Praxiteles receives bare mention, complimentary, of course. A marble Cupid of his was in the possession of Gaius Heius in Messina, and was perhaps after the famous Cupid of the same author at Thespiae.<sup>11</sup> Verres' estimate of its value at HS CIOIOC, at which he forced Heius to part with it, is ridiculed by Cicero, who exclaims: "Have we not seen a statue of bronze of no great size go at auction for HS 40000?"<sup>12</sup> The Venus of Cnidus is mentioned, without the name of Praxiteles.<sup>13</sup> Scopas is mentioned but once, with the implication that he is one of the foremost in his art.<sup>14</sup> There is mention of a Sappho of Silanion, of great elegance, elaborateness, and perfection, which stood in the Prytaneion at Syracuse, and was stolen by Verres.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of this examination of Cicero's mention of sculpture and sculptors, it may be noted: (1) that the names he employs are fairly representative of the history of sculpture during the fifth and fourth centuries: if we should add the names of Cresilas and Paeonius we should have before us all the very famous names employed by the historian of ancient sculpture, and the addition of a half dozen less important names would give us a very complete list of all Greek sculptors who were well known; (2) that Cicero's knowledge of sculpture seems to be called into play more often than his knowledge of painting, and that he seems to

<sup>1</sup> Verr. IV 6, 12.<sup>2</sup> Or. 2, 5.<sup>3</sup> Brut. 86, 296.<sup>4</sup> Verr. IV 3, 5.<sup>5</sup> De Or. 16, 70.<sup>6</sup> Brut. 18, 70.<sup>7</sup> Parad. 37.<sup>8</sup> Fam. V 12, 7.<sup>9</sup> Acad. II 26, 85.<sup>10</sup> De Or. III 7, 26.<sup>11</sup> Verr. IV 2, 4; 60, 135.<sup>12</sup> Verr. IV 6, 12; 7, 14.<sup>13</sup> 60, 135.<sup>14</sup> De Div. I 13, 23.<sup>15</sup> Verr. IV 56, 125.

have greater familiarity with it—a fact, however, which calls for no special comment, since it is entirely natural, considering the relative importance of the two arts in antiquity and the relative endurance of their monuments; (3) that there is slightly more critical knowledge of sculpture displayed than of painting. The comparison of the work of Daedalus with the plays of Livius Andronicus, and of early sculpture as represented by Myron with early literature as represented by Naevius; the mention of Canachus, Calamis, Myron, and Polyclitus as a series whose works represent the course of the development of sculpture (and Cicero's criticism of Canachus' work as too rigid to be natural, is the only criticism of the style of that sculptor which has come down to us); the statement that Phidias' model was the ideal which was indwelling in his soul—such utterances as these betoken some appreciation of the qualities of archaic art, of the history of its development, and of the nature of the artist's inspiration. The amount of such criticism, however, in comparison with the total mention of sculpture and sculptors, is small, and there is little to indicate more than a very ordinary familiarity with or love for the art of sculpture.

As to architecture, what our author says about that as an art is a negligible quantity; and as to other fields of art, if we mention some few references to Corinthian ware, which was very highly prized at the time<sup>1</sup>, to Delian ware<sup>2</sup>, one reference to Boethus<sup>3</sup>, and one to Mentor<sup>4</sup>, both celebrated toreuticians, we shall have completed our list of Cicero's references to Greek art. It appears, then, that it is practically only sculpture and painting with which we are concerned.

If we take the number and variety of names and works of sculptors and painters mentioned by Cicero as indicating a general knowledge of those arts, we must at the same time keep in mind the fact that, with very few exceptions, none of the references betokens anything more than superficial knowledge or interest. All of them, with the exception of those in the Verrine orations, are introduced for purposes of illustration, as is natural enough, for Cicero is not writing primarily for the purpose of giving information regarding art. They are part of the writer's stock in trade for purposes of illustration. "*Nam Q. Hortensii admodum adulescentis ingenium, ut Phidiae signum, simul aspec-*

<sup>1</sup>Verr. II 34, 83; IV 1, 1; Pro Sex. Rosc. 133; etc.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Verr. IV. 14, 32.

<sup>4</sup>IV 18, 38.

tum et probatum est"—such is their manner. They are common-places in art. In the Verrine orations alone is the case different, for there the orator is enumerating works of art stolen by Verres.

The use of these names and facts, then, is but one of Cicero's many rhetorical devices. In him the orator and writer swallowed up everything else; knowledge was to be acquired, not for its own sake, but that it might be available to grace his composition. "Legendi etiam poëtae, cognoscendae historiae, omnium bonarum artium doctores atque scriptores legendi et pervolutandi et exercitationis causa laudandi, interpretandi, corrigendi, vituperandi, refellendi; disputandumque de omni re in contrarias partis, et quicquid erit in quaque re quod probabile videri possit, eliciendum [atque dicendum]; perdiscendum ius civile, cognoscendae leges, percipienda omnis antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina rei publicae, iura sociorum, foedera, pactiones, causa imperii cognoscenda est; libandus est etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis facetiarum quidam lepos, quo tamquam sole perspergatur omnis oratio": such is the catalogue of intellectual accomplishments demanded of the ideal orator<sup>1</sup>. Not for their own sake are they to be acquired, however; poetry and art are only stepping-stones for the orator, and Cicero's knowledge of them was regarded by himself as an instrument, and so used. It is significant that his most ornate passages referring to artists and their works are found in his essays, especially in those written on rhetorical subjects, and that in the orations and letters, where we have a right to look for utterances of a more personal nature, there is almost a total absence of such reference.

But it must at the same time further be observed that, even if the use of this knowledge is a rhetorical device, it does not preclude the possibility of Cicero's having had an appreciation of the art he mentions. We have already seen, however, that there is little in the content of his references to prove any special liking for the arts. Let us see what he himself has to say on the subject of his own knowledge and taste. Speaking in the fourth Verrine oration, at the age of thirty-six, of a statue of Hercules at Agrigentum, he says: "Ibi est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius, tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego, quam multa vidi".<sup>2</sup> This assertion that his knowledge of works of art was

<sup>1</sup> De Or. I 34, 158, 159.

<sup>2</sup> Verr. IV 43, 94.

not in proportion to the number he had seen might be a modest disclaimer of what little knowledge he felt he did possess; or it might be a bid for the favor of his art-despising Roman audience; or it might be the truth. The sum of evidence indicates that it is the truth, and that Cicero's knowledge of art was slight.<sup>1</sup> Considering the opportunities he had enjoyed, we must conclude that works of art had exercised little influence upon him. We may add to this another utterance which seems to be the expression of a personal opinion. In the fifth Paradox, where he discusses the thesis that all wise men are free and all fools are slaves, Cicero ranks as among vilest slaves those who take too much delight in statues, paintings, Corinthian ware, embossed silver, and magnificent edifices: "atque in pari stultitia sunt, quos signa, quos tabulae, quos caelatum argentum, quos Corinthia opera, quos aedificia magna nimio opere delectant. . . . Aëtionis tabula te stupidum detinet aut signum aliquod Polycleti; mitto unde sustuleris, quo modo habeas: intuentem te, admirantem, clamores tollentem cum video, servum esse ineptiarum omnium iudico. 'Nonne igitur sunt illa festiva?' Sunt; nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus. Sed, obsecro te, ita venusta habeantur ista, non ut vincla virorum sint, sed ut oblectamenta puerorum."<sup>2</sup> Further evidence of Cicero's taste is found in the fact that in the early sixties when Cicero had become a rich man and was fitting out his Tusculan villa, the sculptural equipment in which he invested consisted in Herms, Hermathenas, and signa Megarica, or statues of Megarean marble, which he commissioned Atticus, who was in Athens at the time, to get for him.<sup>3</sup> They were merely for ornament, accompanied by no artist's name, and of no artistic importance. Again, in a letter of uncertain date to his friend, M. Fadius Gallus, who had purchased certain statues for him, but had made a mistake in his selection, Cicero wrote: "prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero: tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti."<sup>4</sup> Here again the context shows that the statues were desired only for purposes of ornamentation in connection with the palaestra of Cicero's villa. He had as little interest in the acquisition of works of sculpture

<sup>1</sup> This is also the conclusion of Goehling.

<sup>2</sup> Parad. V 2, 36-38.

<sup>3</sup> Att. I 1, 5; 3, 2; 4, 3; 5, 7; 6, 2; 8, 2; 9, 2; 10, 3; 11, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fam. VII 23, 2.

for their own sake as he had in the acquisition of knowledge of sculpture for its own sake.

Thus by word and act does Cicero confess his lack of interest in and appreciation of Greek art. We may go still further, however, and employ the *argumentum ex silentio*. This is usually dangerous, I am aware; and if Cicero had left nothing but his essays and orations, I should not think of concluding, from his brief and formal mention in the field of art, that he had no appreciation of it. But Cicero has left us a thousand pages of letters, of which three-fourths are written to intimate friends to whom he lays bare all his thoughts; and in all this correspondence, which extends from 68 to 44, there are three references to Greek art of the good period, and of these, two are in letters which are not addressed to his most intimate friends, and which are as formal and rhetorical as any of his essays.<sup>1</sup> The third is in a letter to Atticus and is a mere illustration.<sup>2</sup> Such silence concerning the famous monuments of art known to the world of his time, monuments which he had abundant opportunity to see, and in the very sight of which he sometimes wrote to his most intimate friend Atticus,<sup>3</sup> can only mean that Cicero had no enthusiasm for things of that kind.

To sum up: Cicero was keenly appreciative of Greek thought as manifested in Greek literature. As to those products of Greek genius which were manifested in the arts, he has nothing to say of architecture, refers a few times to Corinthian and Delian bronze work and vases, and speaks only of the arts of sculpture and painting, as though he were familiar with them. While his equipment of knowledge regarding these two arts may have been greater than is apparent in his pages, it is altogether likely that it was very superficial; and it is certain that his use of it sprang rather from the instinct of the stylist than from the enthusiasm of the lover of art.

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<sup>1</sup>Fam. V 12, 7; I 9, 15.

<sup>2</sup>Att. II 21, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Att. V 10, 5; VI 9, 5.



## VI.—THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN THE EPISTLES OF CICERO, SENECA, PLINY AND FRONTO.

In another article we discussed the use of Chiasmus in these writings,<sup>1</sup> and here we shall consider the use of the ablative absolute, following the same lines as in the discussion of the ablative absolute in Livy. The latter differs widely from the others in the rhetorical elaboration of his sentences, and for this reason there are marked differences in the use of the ablative absolute. Many of the letters in these collections were written with a direct view to publication, but in those written on the spur of the moment, the writer did not take time for introductory elaboration and had little need for the ablative absolute. In Seneca the normal sentence is so short that there is room for little more than the finite forms of the verb. The Panegyricus of Pliny, though not an epistle, is not more artificial than some of the letters, and is included so as to give a view of Pliny's complete work. As the absolute construction is merely a substitutive element, its use varies in different writers, and the frequency of occurrence is to a considerable extent dependent on the occurrence of those primary forms of statement for which it may be substituted, and for this reason, as it generally expresses temporal relations, it is used with greatest freedom in historical compositions where it helps to prevent an excess of temporal clauses. Compared with Livy these writers do not use the construction freely, the number for each form being as follows:

	Perfect.	Present.	Adjectives.	Nouns.	Total.
Cicero,	430	171	73	67	741
Seneca,	106	81	15	2	204
Pliny,	160	90	18	11	279
Fronto,	51	28	2	4	85
	<hr/> 747	<hr/> 370	<hr/> 108	<hr/> 84	<hr/> 1309

<sup>1</sup> Chiasmus in the epistles of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and Fronto. Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, pp. 339-352.

These figures, however, are not rigidly exact, for in some instances—not sufficiently large to call for a separate listing—we have placed under 'Adjectives' the occurrence of a single noun with an adjective and present participle, as in Cic. ad Att. 16, 7, 3 quibus invitis et dissuadentibus profectus sum. There is also a limited number of other instances in which two forms of the verbal term have been used and these have been put under the first in the statement. As all these writers were to a great extent considering facts falling immediately under their notice, the large number of present participles in the ablative absolute is not surprising. The proportion is the lowest for Cicero, and the highest for Seneca, though in the entire number there is but one noticeable feature,—the occurrence of *dis volentibus* in letters written to Fronto (p. 72, line 5 Naber; 88, 17; 94, 16); of *dis faventibus* (56, 21); and of *dis iuvantibus* (56, 17; 70, 20; 80, 11; 81, 10; 83, 3; 91, 2; 88, 7; and 101, 6), only the last two being in letters written by Fronto.

There are no marked differences in the use of perfect participles excepting of deponents. Of these, the ablative absolute is in Cicero limited to *mortuo*: ad Att. 2, 19, 3 m. plausu; 2, 19, 4 Cosconio m.; 12, 20, 2 vivone . . . an mortuo (twice); 14, 17, 6; 16, 16 A, 7; 12, 22, 2 num Clodia D. Bruto consulari, filio suo, mortuo vixerit; ad Fam. 7, 9, 2 quod huc properes, nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Seneca has *ortis* 122, 8 inde ortis radicibus quo improbe cacumina egissent; and *passis* 74, 2 aliquam p. infamiam. Pliny has a different class: 5, 16, 1 filia minore defuncta; 6, 20, 2 profecto avunculo; 9, 12, 1 iuvene digresso. Fronto has *profecto* 209, 13 Lucio ab urbe necdum etiam tum p.; *mortuo* 160, 10 Alexandro morbo m.; *orto* 209, 7 tumultu o.; and perhaps 7, 5 ortis vaporibus.

Ablatives absolute composed of pairs of nouns are most freely used by Cicero, especially *consul* and *auctor*. Seneca has the latter 44, 6 populo a.; and 107, 9 quo auctore. Pliny's list resembles Cicero's, but Fronto's is different: 55, 3 me vade, me praede, me sponsore, celeriter te in cacumine eloquentiae sistam; 115, 15 quem ego facile, et omnibus spectantibus, et te, si spectaveris, teste revincam.

The adjectives most commonly occurring are *invitus*, as in Cic. ad Att. 5, 21, 9 quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet; *integer* 9, 10, 8 "Tum poterimus deliberare non scilicet integra re, sed certe minus infracta quam si una proieceris te"; *salvus*: Sen.

117, 1 ego nec dissentire a nostris salva gratia nec consentire salva conscientia possum; *vivus*: Cic. ad Att. 9, 7, 1 sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis nec hoc uno nos umquam rem publicam habituros. Fronto has salva sanitate 164, 2; and invalido adhuc corpore 84, 21.

The ablative absolute of neuter forms is avoided, though Cic. has *sortito* ad Fam. 8, 8, 8 (quoting from a senate consult); and Seneca *tranquillo* 85, 34 . . . t. enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est; cf. Livy 24, 8, 12 quilibet . . . t. mari gubernare potest.

In its general aspects the ablative absolute in these writers may be characterized as isolated, unextended and undivided. There are some exceptions to this characterization but most of the examples occur singly, are composed of one noun and one participle or equivalent, and do not have the parts separated.

1. (a) There is occasionally a passage in the letters of Cicero in which two ablatives absolute are introductory to the main statement, as in ad Att. 1, 13, 2 idque admurmurante senatu neque me invito esse factum; 7, 17, 2 violata iam ab illo re publica illatoque bello; ad Fam. 10, 3, 2 omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna; ad Fam. 4, 4, 3 nam et ipse Caesar accusata 'acerbitate' Marcelli (sic enim appellabat) laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia repente praeter spem dixit se . . . negaturum. An instance of three ablatives absolute is found ad Fam. 1, 9, 14 recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis . . . adiungeretur; and in the letters of his correspondents 10, 32, 1 (Pollio) Balbus quaestor magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, maiore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito duxit se a Gadibus; 12, 15, 1 (Lentulus) quod cum pertimisset Dolabella vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denu-datis ac divenditis celeriusque Asia excessisset. Cicero uses four ad Att. 4, 18, 5 confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia exercitum ex Britannia reportabant; and Plancus the same number ad Fam. 10, 21, 4 (Plancus), duobus iam consulibus singularibus occisis, tot civibus pro patria amissis, hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis. A slightly different extension of the participial statement is found in a letter from Dolabella ad Fam. 9, 9, 2 illi non posse contingere . . .

pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique, quod nescio an nulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Cf. in Cicero's letter ad Fam. 11, 18, 2 etenim, cum te incluso spem maximam omnes habuissent in tua virtute, florente Antonio, quis erat, qui quicquam timeret profligato illo, te liberato. Especially noticeable are the ablatives in Cicero's exultation ad Fam. 1, 9, 16 cumque Metellum unius tr. pl. rogatio, me universa res publica duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus *magistratibus*, te ferente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recipervisset.

Pairs of contrasted ablatives absolute are occasionally found: ad Att. 6, 1, 2 illo imperante exhaustam esse . . . provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus nummum nullum esse erogatum; 7, 9, 2 suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille . . . intercludendus; 8, 15A, 2 (Balbus) incipiam sperare . . . auctore te, illo relatore . . .; 9, 14, 2 nihil Curionem se duce facere, quod non hic Sulla duce fecisset; 14, 10, 1 di immortales, quae tum opera effici potuerunt laetantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! ad Fam. 4, 9, 2; 6, 6, 6 quiescente me . . . manente me.

(b). Repetition of the ablative absolute is not frequent in Seneca: 51, 7 interrupto cursu rerum omissoque bello; 86, 17 amputatis radicibus, relicto tantum capite ipso; 83, 7 vento silvam verberante et ceteris sine intellectu sonantibus. Three occur in succession 9, 18 capta patria, amissis liberis, amissa uxore; 9, 16 qualis et Iovis, cum resoluta mundo et dis in unum confusis paulisper cessante natura adquiescit; 95, 15 firmis adhuc solidisque corporibus et facili cibo nec per artem voluptatemque corrupto. The successive ablatives are contrasted 117, 1; 77, 8 quemadmodum coena peracta . . . sic peracta vita.

(c). The usage of Pliny is like that of Seneca though in two passages *data opera* is practically subordinated to the accompanying ablative absolute: 3, 17, 2 data opera tabellario misso; 7, 12, 6 data opera cursore dimisso. 1, 8, 15 sic, quod magnificum referente alio fuisset, ipso qui gesserat recensente vanescit; 3, 14, 3 sublatis oculis agitatoque corpore; 3, 16, 5 satiata siccis oculis composito vultu redibat; 6, 16, 19 spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho; 10, 41, 4 intercepto rege mortalitate an desperato operis effectu; Pan. 22 te viso, te recepto; 9, 28, 5 dicente me, audiente te; 10, 84, 1 contractis omnibus personis ad idem

negotium pertinentibus, adhibitis Virgilio Gemellino et Epimacho, liberto meo, procuratoribus, ut aestimatis etiam iis quae contra dicuntur quod optimum credideritis statuatis. 3, 9, 22 quibusdam absolutis, pluribus damnatis atque etiam relegatis, aliis in tempus, aliis in perpetuum.

(d). Fronto has the following instances of repetition: 68, 9 calceis detractis, vestimentis positis; 120, 12 possum . . . excedere, magno operae meae praetio percepto, magnoque monumento ad aeternam gloriam relicto; 115, 15; 55, 3.

2. The extension of the ablative absolute by the repetition of one of the parts, either noun or participle, is of more frequent occurrence than are complete ablatives absolute repeated, and the noun is repeated less frequently than the participle.

(a). Only a few instances were noticed of the repetition of the noun by Cicero: ad Fam. 1, 9, 16; 1, 9, 19 deis hominibusque adprobantibus; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 4, 1 dis hominibusque plaudentibus; ad Fam. 4, 4, 3; 7, 3, 5 amisso exercitu et eo duce; ad Att. 10, 8 B, 2 (Caesar) tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio . . . reperies. The participial element is repeated much more freely: ad Att. 2, 16, 4 re consulta et explorata; 5, 20, 3; 9, 1, 3 remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus; 10, 13, 3 ego autem nec retentis iis confectam rem puto neque amissis desperatam; ad Brut. 1, 2, 1 scripta et obsignata iam epistula; ad Fam. 1, 4, 1 nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus; 6, 2, 2 si armis aut condicione positis aut defetigatione abiectis aut victoria detractis civitas respiraverit; 8, 8, 4 saepe re dilata et graviter acta et plane perspecta Cn. Pompei voluntate; 12, 15, 1; 12, 25a, 1; 12, 30, 2; 15, 4, 10 omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis aut incensis. Ad Att. 3, 15, 6 quo modo autem iis, quos tu scribis, et de re dicentibus et, ut referretur, postulantibus, Clodius tacuit? 3, 15, 7 inspectante et tacente te; 4, 18, 3; 6, 3, 4; 7, 9, 2; 12, 13, 1 non mehercule indulgente me, sed tamen repugnante; ad Brut. 2, 4, 2 repugnante et irascente Pansa; ad Fam. 4, 3, 1; 7, 23, 4 illo et absente et insciente; 12, 12, 2 te hortante et auctore; cf. ad Att. 5, 5, 2 quod auctore te velle coepi, adiutore consequar. Ad Fam. 1, 9, 6 te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste; ad Att. 2, 1, 7; ad Att. 5, 12, 1 inde Gyrum saevo vento, non adverso; 9, 10, 8; 16, 7, 3.

(b). The noun or pronoun is comparatively more freely repeated in Seneca than in Cicero: 14, 12 aliis Pompeium offendentibus, aliis Caesarem; 95, 70 aliis Caesareanas opes, aliis



Pompeianas fiventibus; 26, 5 remotis strophis ac fucis; 108, 12 relictis ambiguitatibus et syllogismis et cavillationibus et ceteris acuminis inriti ludicris; 115, 3 hinc iustitia, illinc fortitudine, hinc temperantia prudentiaque lucentibus; 81, 16 salva pietate ac fide. Repeated participles are but little more commonly used: 74, 25 salvis liberis quam amissis; 86, 17 circumcisis ramis et ad unum redactis pedem; 113, 29 modo occiso amico, modo amisso; 114, 6 sollicita urbe at armata; 65, 7 hominibus laborantibus, intereuntibus illa nihil patitur; 79, 3 nil flammis adolentibus, sed tantum vi remissa ac languida refulgentibus; 110, 10 nolente rerum natura et abscondente; 18, 4 ebrio ac vomitante populo; 53, 1 quamvis dubio et impendente caelo; 114, 22 illo sano ac valente; 74, 2 hic amissis liberis moestus, hic sollicitus aegris, hic turpibus et aliquam passis infamiam tristis.

(c). The extended absolutes in Pliny have for the most part either present participles or adjectives: 4, 19, 4 non artifice aliquo docente sed amore; 9, 13, 16 petentibus matre eius et vitrico; 8, 4, 5 proinde iure vatum invocatis dis, et inter eos ipso cuius res opera consilia dicturus es. 2, 17, 2 salvo iam et composito die; 3, 4, 1 and 6, 13, 4 integra re . . . peracta; 6, 16, 12 ibi, quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen, et cum cresceret, proximo. 2, 17, 21 specularibus et velis obductis reductisque; Pan. 32 quippe discretis quidem bonis omnium sua cuiusque ad singulos mala; sociatis autem atque permixtis singulorum mala ad neminem; 56 quod alii domitis hostibus, tu contemptis merebare.

(d). Fronto has the following: 43, 6 clausa iam et obsignata epistula priore; 134, 20 absente Victorino et domino fratre meo.

3. There is little of interest in the separation of the parts of the abl. abs. by intervening words. These are generally closely associated with one of the parts of the abl. abs., and in only a few instances are explanatory phrases admitted as in Cic. ad Fam. 15, 15, 2 te, ut opinor, ipso legato ac deprecatore; 15, 10, 1 aspernante, ut confido, senatu; Sen. 94, 13 specie quo non oportet trahente; Pliny 3, 4, 2 accepto, ut praefectus aerarii, commeatu; 7, 1, 6 atque ita spe balinei, cui iam videbar inferri, placide leniterque dimissa ad abstinentiam rursus . . . animum vultumque composui. Fronto 87, 15, dimisso iam, ut cognosco, eo; 115, 15 te, si spectaveris, teste. The incorporation of the subject of the principal statement is unusual: Cic. ad Fam. 10,

15, 2 (Plancus) quibus rebus ego cognitis; Pliny 4, 15, 3 quibus ille despectis; and in quoted lines of poetry 6, 10, 4 pulso qui Vindice; and 7, 4, 6 his ego lectis.

Most instances of separation are by a single word, as in Cic. ad Fam. 16, 15, 1 scripta iam epistula; ad Att. 14, 12 1 accepta grandi pecunia; ad Fam. 11, 13, 4 hac re mihi nuntiata; 15, 4, 9 magna multitudine hostium occisa; 12, 1, 1 interfecto enim rege; 15, 15, 2 amissis autem temporibus. Sen. 78, 23 renovat fracta insuper glacie; 94, 5 illo quidem obiecto operam perdidit; 104, 10 ne tutis quidem habebitur fides consternata semel mente. Pliny 2, 17, 12 inclinato iam die; 5, 9, 4 peractis tamen negotiis; 9, 28, 5 adpositis quidem usuris; 10, 119, 1 mutata enim condicione; 6, 20, 6 quassatis circumiacentibus tectis. Fronto 226, 17 manu comminus conserta; 90, 4 sedatis tibi doloribus; 174, 6 sed lectis concilii commentariis.

Instances of separation by more than one word result from the introduction of a particle with one or more words closely related to the abl. abs., or of a compact group of two or more words: Cic. ad Fam. 10, 32, 1 ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito; 13, 19, 2 explorata vero eius incolumitate; ad Att. 3, 23, 1 lege enim ab octo tribunis pl. promulgata; 6, 7, 1 me quidem certe multum hortante. Pliny 3, 9, 19 excepta tamen Classici uxore; 6, 22, 4 corrupto enim scribae servo. Fronto 15, 5 causa denique Romam remissa quid eveniet?

The following will illustrate the introduction of compact groups of words: Cic. ad Att. 1, 13, 1 caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis; 6, 3, 5 renovato in singulos annos faenore; 3, 15, 6; 7, 9, 2 illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente; ad Fam. 4, 9, 2; 5, 17, 3 omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis; 7, 33, 1 gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigeamus, amissis; 12, 15, 1; 12, 25 A, 1 re publica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata; ad Att. 16, 16 B, 8 omnibus enim rebus magna cura, multa opera et labore confectis; ad Brut. 2, 4, 1 datis mane a. d. III. Id. April. Scaptio litteris; ad Att. 4, 17, 4 obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque ad pr. Kal. Octobr., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis populo tributum domi suae satis fecerat. Sen. 83, 23 victa temporum locorumque difficultate; 94, 28 natura vim suam exercente: 98, 9 amisso optimaie indolis filio; 120, 7 retento armorum victricium decore; 99, 21 remota omni lugentium scena; 115, 4 evocante ipsa voltus benignitate; 102,

28 tot sideribus inter se lumen miscentibus; 78, 11 ipsis per quae cupimus, fatigatis, ac deficientibus. Pliny 6, 5, 3 omisso contra dicendi tempore; 7, 33, 9 missis ad me gravissimis litteris; 10, 26, 3 exornata quaestoris mei dignitate; 10, 100 certante commilitonum et provincialium pietate; 2, 14, 4; 5, 6, 34 finito vario illo multiplicique curvamine recto limiti redditur; Pan. 34 relictisque post tergum totius generis humani securitate maereret. A few instances from Fronto (87, 14; 115, 15; 120, 13) have already been quoted in other connections, and here we need simply call attention to the noticeable freedom of arrangement in the 'Arion', 237, 3 magnis divitiis per oram Siciliae atque Italiae paratis; 237, 15 sociis inde consulto per navem ceteram dispersis.

A participle in the singular is found with a double subject ad Att. 1, 16, 12 Catone et Domitio postulante; and 4, 14, 2 maxime autem rogo, rebus tuis totoque itinere ex sententia confecto nos quam primum revisas; Fronto 134, 23 absente Victorino et domino fratre meo. The subject is omitted ad Att. 15, 6, 4 obsignata iam Balbus ad me Serviliam redisse; and occasionally when it is the antecedent of a relative statement: Seneca 108, 27 omissis ad quae devertimur; 124, 23 relictis in quibus vinci te necesse est; cf. 25, 2 excepto eo quod adhuc peccare erubescit. Pliny 2, 17, 2 peractis quae agenda fuerint; 2, 17, 7 ibi omnes silent venti exceptis qui nubilum inducunt; 5, 11, 3 peracto quod proxime promisisti; and the neuter participle absolute with dependent statement 8, 1, 1 iter commode explicui, excepto quod quidam ex meis adversam valitudinem . . . contraxerunt.

The ablative absolute follows the main statement relatively much more frequently in the letters than in the work of Livy, and without indications of individual preferences. Nearly all the occurrences express temporal relations, though there is occasionally an instance which has a causal or conditional force, or, when used with adversative statements, is concessive. A few examples of each will be quoted: ad Att. 1, 18, 3 adflcta res publica est empto constupratoquo iudicio; 5, 11, 6 non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Ariopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset; Sen. 66, 33 magna habebunt discrimina variante materia; ad Att. 3, 24, 1 sin velint nostra causa, nihil posse se invitis; 8, 12B, 1 nos disiecta manu pares adversario esse non possumus; 2, 3, 1 Valerius absolutus est Hortensio defendente; ad Fam. 16, 12, 2 ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius. In some passages the abl. abs. is used

co-ordinately with other forms of ablative statements: ad Att. 3, 15, 3 quod profecto cum sua sponte tum te instante faciet; ad Fam. 9, 8, 2 mihi vero cum his ipsis vix, his autem detractis ne vix quidem; 3, 12, 3 de tempore nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo; 13, 16, 3 suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Sen. 86, 20 et vidi non tantum mense Februario positas, sed etiam Marte exacto. In these the ablatives are parallel, while there is a modifying ablative element ad Fam. 7, 30, 1 quo mortuo nuntiatio sella sublata est.

#### PARTICLES WITH THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE.

The use of particles with the ablative absolute as if it were a clause, is much less developed in the epistles than in Livy, and in Cicero is limited to compounds of *si* excepting ad Att. 9, 6, 4 mene . . . cum bonis esse quamvis causa temere instituta?; 16, 13 a, 1 veniam quo vocas, modo adiutore te; and ad Fam. 16, 12, 4 videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi modo ut urbe salva: *nisi* ad Att. 1, 16, 5 non esse venturos n. praesidio constituto; 11, 24, 4; 12, 35, 1; 13, 27, 1; 13, 31, 3; 15, 13, 7; 15, 20, 4; ad Fam. 1, 1, 1; 1, 4, 1; 2, 16, 2; 16, 1, 1 ut prorsus n. confirmato corpore nolles navigare; *quasi* ad Att. 14, 14, 6 q. iam recuperata re publica; 15, 3, 2 me velis scribere q. a Bruto habita oratione, cum ille ediderit; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 3, 2 hora fere nona q. signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt; cf. ad Fam. 15, 15, 2 illo q. quodam fatali proelio facto. Seneca uses other particles but has fewer examples: *nisi* 84, 11 n. ratione suadente; *quamvis* 53, 1 q. dubio et imminente caelo; *tamquam* 11, 8 ut sic t. illo spectante vivamus et omnia t. illo vidente faciamus; *velut* 83, 21 v. aliquo turbine circumagente totam domum. These particles are used with the most freedom by Pliny: *nisi* 2, 17, 22 n. fenestris apertis; 2, 14, 3 n. aliquo consulari producente; 3, 9, 12 n. illo nocente; 7, 1, 3; *quamquam* 6, 16, 12 q. nondum periculo adpropinquante; 10, 33, 1 q. via interiacente; 10, 120, 2 q. inconsulto te; and with the dative 10, 54, 2 quod q. invitis et recusantibus minus acerbum erit leviores usura constituta; *quasi* 1, 23, 3 q. eiurato magistratu; 8, 10, 2 q. paratis posteris; 9, 15, 2 rationes q. me absente negleguntur; Pan. 54 q. prolatis imperi finibus; and with one part of the abl. abs. 10, 61, 2 relicto q. margine. *Tamquam* is similarly used 8, 14, 16 sic peracta re t. adhuc integra; and with the entire abl. abs. 3, 5, 13 t. aliqua lege cogente; *velut* 10, 59, 1 v. audita utraque parte.

THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN CORRELATIVE AND  
CONTRASTED STATEMENTS.

In some of the instances already given the repeated ablatives are antithetic, but rarely are they emphasized by the use of particles with complete ablatives absolute, or with the repeated parts of one: Ad Att. 13, 28, 3 *etsi invito me tamen eodem me auctore profectus est*; ad Fam. 12, 3, 2 *me quidem favente, magis quam sperante*; ad Att. 2, 7, 4 *non abiectis sed ereptis gubernaculis*; 4, 16, 5 *neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus*; 9, 1, 3 *remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus*.

ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE REPRESENTED IN THE MAIN  
STATEMENT.

(a). The subject of the abl. abs. is the subject of the following verb in Sen. 24, 5 *si id te faciente patiaris*; Pliny 2, 17, 9 *plerisque tam mundis ut accipere hospites possent*; Pan. 65 *iurat in legem attendantibus diis*; nam cui magis quam Caesari attendant; Fronto 55, 3 *me vade . . . sistam*; and also of a parenthetic clause ad Att. 1, 17, 6 *quin mihi nunc te absente non solum consilium, quo tu excellis . . . maxime deest*; 16, 13a, 1 *veniam, quo vocas, modo adiutore te*; ad Fam. 6, 6, 6 *susceptum bellum est quiescente me, depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui*. Fronto 115, 15 *te, si spectaveris, teste*.

(b). The noun in the abl. abs. is repeated ad Fam. 10, 3, 3 *unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos, re p. divexata, rei p. bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam*; ad Brut. 1, 15, 8 *ego enim, D. Bruto liberato cum dies . . . casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur*. *Bellum* referring to different contests is repeated ad Fam. 12, 8, 1 *itaque nos confecto bello . . . renovatum bellum gerimus*; and 12, 30, 2 *qui profligato bello ac paene sublato renovatum bellum gerere conamur*.

(c). 1. The ablative absolute referring to the principal subject but connected with a subordinate statement is fairly common: ad Att. 1, 16, 4 *me vero teste producto credo te . . . audisse*; 5, 19, 3 *quod scribis libente te repulsam tulisse eum*; 7, 1, 2 *videsne, ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus?* 10, 8, 8 *id spero vivis nobis fore*; 13, 47a, 2 *me enim absente omnia cum illis transigi malo*; 16, 9 *et metuo, ne quae *ἀπὸρροία* me absente*; ad Fam. 2, 16, 6 *recordor enim desperationes eorum qui senes*



erant adolescente me; 9, 10, 1 de quo etiam nihil scribente me te non dubitare certo scio; 16, 26, 1 non potes effugere huius culpa poenam te patrono.

2. When a pronoun is the subject of the abl. abs. the pronoun referring to it is generally a possessive: ad Att. 6, 1, 7 me ius dicente . . . ex edicto meo; 13, 19, 4 puero me hic sermo inducitur, ut nullae esse possent partes meae; ad Fam. 3, 12, 2 ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis; 5, 2, 3 nihil in ea re per collegam meum me insciente esse factum; 11, 28, 4 mea spes me tacente probat; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 3, 3 de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit. Pliny 7, 11, 4 ut praetore me ludis meis praesederit. Ad. Fam. 4, 9, 2 qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente vobis auctoribus uti voluerit; 5, 8, 5 suscepta defensio est te absente dignitatis tuae; 9, 20, 3 ne ego te iacente bona tua comedim. Plin. 2, 10, 3 enotuerunt quidam tui versus et invito te claustra sua refregerunt; 10, 101 and 103 (Trajan): praeunte te . . . cognovi litteris tuis; ad Att. 13, 7, 1 ne se absente leges suae neglegerentur; 15, 11, 2 ut ludi absente se fierent suo nomine; ad Fam. 16, 12, 3 neque se iam velle absente se rationem haberi suam; ad Fam. 10, 31, 4 invito illo per illius provinciam legiones ducerem? At times there is a possessive in the abl. abs. and the personal pronoun in the main statement: ad Fam. 1, 9, 10 circumspectis rebus meis . . . summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium; ad Att. 12, 16, 1 te tuis negotiis relictis nolo ad me venire; 16, 7, 2 lectis vero tuis litteris admiratus quidem sum te tam vehementer sententiam commutasse; ad Fam. 1, 7, 3 tum vero lectis tuis litteris perspectus est . . . de te ac tuis ornamentis . . . cogitare; 16, 16, 1 tuis et illius litteris perlectis exsilii gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Cf. ad Att. 4, 14, 2 rebus tuis totoque itinere confecto . . . revisas. Other forms of the pronouns also occur: ad Att. 10, 4, 6 me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem; ad Fam. 2, 3, 1 placuit nec cuiquam tuorum quicquam te absente fieri, quod tibi . . . non esset integrum; 11, 24, 1 qui te incluso omnem spem habuerim in te. Pliny Pan. 67 egit cum diis ipso te auctore, Caesar, res publica ut te sospitem incolumemque praestarent; ad Fam. 5, 12, 9 ceteri viventibus nobis . . . nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. Pliny 8, 14, 25 tum illi quoque qui auctoritate eius trahebantur

transeunte illo destituti reliquerunt sententiam ab ipso auctore desertam.

3. A pronoun may refer to a noun in the abl. abs.: ad Att. 2, 19, 4 Cosconio mortuo sum in eius locum invitatus; 8, 6, 1 obsignata iam ista epistula . . . sicut dedi (nam eam vesperi scripseram); and a pronoun in the abl. abs. may refer to a noun in the main statement: ad Att. 4, 18, 4 Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum; 5, 21, 9 contendam a Quinto fratre . . . quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet; 7, 9, 2 haberi Caesaris rationem illo exercitum . . . obtinente; 10, 8, 4 in Hispaniis . . . nisi forte iis amissis . . . putas; ad Fam. 10, 24, 5 in familiaritate Caesaris vivo illo; 10, 30, 2 posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa. Pliny 3, 1, 4 liber legitur; interdum etiam praesentibus amicis, si tamen illi non gravantur; 7, 6, 8 mater amisso filio . . . libertos eius . . . reos detulerat; 8, 4, 5 invocatis dis et inter eos ipso cuius res opera consilia dicturus es.

Similar to the examples given are two instances in which the ablative absolute is used in one of two contrasted statements and a pronoun in the other: ad Att. 1, 4, 2 multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset, gratia cepissemus; 1, 10, 6 si quae parta erunt, non modo te praesente, sed per te parta sint.

4. Ad Fam. 15, 4, 9 Sepyram et Commorim acriter et diu repugnantibus Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente . . . magna multitudo hostium occisa cepimus. *Repugnantibus* is, for Cicero, certainly a bold use of the ablative absolute, and it may be that *iis* has fallen from the text, or that *repugantes* is the correct reading.

Some of the most marked features of Livy's usage are lacking in these epistles, for the ablative absolute was not, as in Livy, made the object of special rhetorical development. There is but a limited use of the abl. abs. of deponents, of the neuter of participles, of correlatives, with the abl. abs., and of wide separation of the noun and participle. That which is most noticeable, in contrast with Livy, is the occurrence of pronouns which refer to or are referred to by the subject of the ablative absolute. This is incidental to a free use of pronouns, and besides, the ablative construction was to some extent merely a conventional absolute which was at times brought within the range of pronominal relationship, and the occurrence of this feature in the epistles corresponds to the prominence of the personal

element which is the most noticeable in Cicero, and the least so in Seneca.

The occurrences of the ablative absolute in the letters of the correspondents of Cicero and Fronto, and of Trajan to Pliny, have been counted with the others. The writers of a few passages have been indicated, but in general the type of statement is the same, although, judging by a limited number, some are inclined to a freer separation of the parts of the ablative absolute. In the *De Petitione* there is nothing of interest in the occurrences of the abl. abs., nor in the Seneca-Pauline epistles. The *Epistula ad Octavianum*, however, has a few features not altogether Ciceronian. *Mortua re publica*, sec. 7, differs from Cicero, who has only the masculine of this participle, while the separation, sec. 4 *duabus legionibus a perniciē patriae ad salutem advocatis*, is not parallel to anything in Cicero.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar. By J. B. GREENOUGH, G. L. KITTREDGE, A. A. HOWARD and BENJ. L. D'OUGE. Ginn & Co., Boston and London, 1903.

The task of the reviewer is a pleasant one in the case of a book which, like this, after many years of useful service has been revised by hands both sympathetic and competent. And lest perchance I find myself in the plight of many a friendly critic who discovers when near the end of his task that he has given pages to fault-finding and scarcely a line to praise, I may say at the outset that the work is excellently done, and that the well-tested value and usefulness of the book is correspondingly enhanced.

In looking through the volume somewhat carefully the student of syntax will note with interest some tendencies of the new book with reference to the principles of classification. In order to bring these out more clearly, it may be well to first state and illustrate the methods of classification in common use in our grammars. What may be styled primary classification is of two varieties, formal and functional; the first of these takes as its basis the syntactical form, the second deals with the meaning of the phrase. Thus the genitive may be divided formally into three classes, according as it depends upon a noun, an adjective or a verb, and the genitive dependent on a noun may be subdivided functionally into subjective and objective. In the revised grammar under discussion there is a manifest tendency to make formal classification the foundation of functional treatment. For example, the old edition (266 c) classes the independent concessive subjunctive with the subjunctive introduced by *quamvis*, *quamlibet*, *ut*, etc., making the meaning the basis of classification; while in the new book the subjunctive in dependent clauses is carefully distinguished from the independent use (440). Again, the new grammar brings together all the dependent clauses introduced by *quin* (558-59) instead of treating them in two different places according to the meaning assigned (see the old edition at 319 d, 332 g, and Rem.). Doubtless the changes of this sort would have been more numerous and sweeping had it not been for the desire to retain as far as possible the characteristic features of the earlier edition.

The classes resulting from formal and functional division are arranged in groups by what may be termed secondary classification. This is also of two varieties, logical and historical; the first of these methods produces an arbitrary and convenient scheme designed, e. g., to assist the memory in retaining certain facts; the second attempts to follow the line of historical develop-

ment from assumed original meanings. Logical classification is used most consciously in the grammar of Gildersleeve and Lodge, while that of Hale and Buck lays greater stress on the historical method. On the title page of the Allen and Greenough Grammar stands the legend "Founded on Comparative Grammar," and the original intention was doubtless to make historical classification a characteristic feature. Here again the hand of the reviser was probably stayed through a desire to maintain the integrity of the book; but it is easy to see that the historical treatment is felt to be unsatisfactory. The introductory note on the ablative (398) may serve as an illustration. In the earlier edition (242 n.) it is stated that "the ablative form contains three distinct cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY," and the various uses of the Latin ablative are classified with reference to these assumed original meanings; but in the revision that paragraph is altered, "Under the name Ablative are included the meanings and, in part, the forms of three cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY. *These three cases were originally not wholly distinct in meaning*<sup>1</sup>, . . . .". I suppose that the last clause was intended primarily as a protest against the all too easy and prevalent assumption of fixed original meanings for case and mood forms, but as a matter of fact it also sweeps away the foundation of the historical classification that follows; for if originally ablative, locative and instrumental forms did not stand definitely for the meanings "from," "in," "with" or "by" respectively, but were used in a somewhat haphazard and shifting way within the general field covered by all these meanings taken together, the foundation stones of an historical classification are lacking, and the meanings "from," "in," etc., become convenient generalizations within which or about which to group the concrete uses of the Latin ablative. Such a classification is really logical rather than historical (in the sense in which that term is used above). The same tendency may be observed also at 436 § 3, where in place of a categorical statement as to the force of the subjunctive and optative in the parent speech (see earlier edition p. 274 § 2), the carefully worded paragraph runs, "Each mood *has*<sup>2</sup> two general classes or ranges of meaning. The uses of the subjunctive may all be classed under the general ideas of *will* and *desire* and of action *vividly conceived*; and the uses of the Optative under the general ideas of *wish* and of action *vaguely conceived*."

These tendencies to make a formal treatment the basis in primary classification and to discredit the historical method as the dominant note in secondary classification deserve the most serious consideration. The fixed and unchanging character of the results of formal treatment admirably fit them to become the

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar. By J. B. GREENOUGH, G. L. KITTREDGE, A. A. HOWARD and BENJ. L. D'OUGE. Ginn & Co., Boston and London, 1903.

The task of the reviewer is a pleasant one in the case of a book which, like this, after many years of useful service has been revised by hands both sympathetic and competent. And lest perchance I find myself in the plight of many a friendly critic who discovers when near the end of his task that he has given pages to fault-finding and scarcely a line to praise, I may say at the outset that the work is excellently done, and that the well-tested value and usefulness of the book is correspondingly enhanced.

In looking through the volume somewhat carefully the student of syntax will note with interest some tendencies of the new book with reference to the principles of classification. In order to bring these out more clearly, it may be well to first state and illustrate the methods of classification in common use in our grammars. What may be styled primary classification is of two varieties, formal and functional; the first of these takes as its basis the syntactical form, the second deals with the meaning of the phrase. Thus the genitive may be divided formally into three classes, according as it depends upon a noun, an adjective or a verb, and the genitive dependent on a noun may be subdivided functionally into subjective and objective. In the revised grammar under discussion there is a manifest tendency to make formal classification the foundation of functional treatment. For example, the old edition (266 c) classes the independent concessive subjunctive with the subjunctive introduced by *quamvis*, *quamlibet*, *ut*, etc., making the meaning the basis of classification; while in the new book the subjunctive in dependent clauses is carefully distinguished from the independent use (440). Again, the new grammar brings together all the dependent clauses introduced by *quin* (558-59) instead of treating them in two different places according to the meaning assigned (see the old edition at 319 d, 332 g, and Rem.). Doubtless the changes of this sort would have been more numerous and sweeping had it not been for the desire to retain as far as possible the characteristic features of the earlier edition.

The classes resulting from formal and functional division are arranged in groups by what may be termed secondary classification. This is also of two varieties, logical and historical; the first of these methods produces an arbitrary and convenient scheme designed, e. g., to assist the memory in retaining certain facts; the second attempts to follow the line of historical develop-

ment from assumed original meanings. Logical classification is used most consciously in the grammar of Gildersleeve and Lodge, while that of Hale and Buck lays greater stress on the historical method. On the title page of the Allen and Greenough Grammar stands the legend "Founded on Comparative Grammar," and the original intention was doubtless to make historical classification a characteristic feature. Here again the hand of the reviser was probably stayed through a desire to maintain the integrity of the book; but it is easy to see that the historical treatment is felt to be unsatisfactory. The introductory note on the ablative (398) may serve as an illustration. In the earlier edition (242 n.) it is stated that "the ablative form contains three distinct cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY," and the various uses of the Latin ablative are classified with reference to these assumed original meanings; but in the revision that paragraph is altered, "Under the name Ablative are included the meanings and, in part, the forms of three cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY. *These three cases were originally not wholly distinct in meaning*<sup>1</sup>, . . . .". I suppose that the last clause was intended primarily as a protest against the all too easy and prevalent assumption of fixed original meanings for case and mood forms, but as a matter of fact it also sweeps away the foundation of the historical classification that follows; for if originally ablative, locative and instrumental forms did not stand definitely for the meanings "from," "in," "with" or "by" respectively, but were used in a somewhat haphazard and shifting way within the general field covered by all these meanings taken together, the foundation stones of an historical classification are lacking, and the meanings "from," "in," etc., become convenient generalizations within which or about which to group the concrete uses of the Latin ablative. Such a classification is really logical rather than historical (in the sense in which that term is used above). The same tendency may be observed also at 436 § 3, where in place of a categorical statement as to the force of the subjunctive and optative in the parent speech (see earlier edition p. 274 § 2), the carefully worded paragraph runs, "Each mood *has*<sup>2</sup> two general classes or ranges of meaning. The uses of the subjunctive may all be classed under the general ideas of *will* and *desire* and of action *vividly conceived*; and the uses of the Optative under the general ideas of *wish* and of action *vaguely conceived*."

These tendencies to make a formal treatment the basis in primary classification and to discredit the historical method as the dominant note in secondary classification deserve the most serious consideration. The fixed and unchanging character of the results of formal treatment admirably fit them to become the

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.

basis of further classification, and in view of our lack of certain knowledge concerning the exact meanings originally attached to case and mood forms, it may well be questioned whether theories on that subject should not often be recorded in a footnote rather than made a basis of classification. This whole question really needs a thorough discussion, that the merits of the various methods may be clearly brought to light and that some clear-cut ideas may be formed as to the manner in which they can best be combined. Such a discussion could not fail to be of the greatest assistance to makers and revisers of grammars, and might tend to lessen the needless divergence in matters of classification which is now so prevalent.

That there is needless divergence no one will doubt; e. g. why might not all agree on a formal classification as the basis of the treatment of the genitive? What advantage is there in departing from the three-fold division of the genitive dependent on noun, adjective and verb? Needless divergence in classification (and more so in other matters) is even now a serious matter, and it bids fair to become no less so as time goes on and the newer grammars come into more general use. In the secondary school perhaps less trouble is caused, but even what might be styled legitimate divergence is often a distraction and source of confusion to classes in the early years of the college course. In this connection the revisers of the Allen and Greenough grammar are to be commended for the conservatism shown in the matter of terminology. The few innovations seem to be abundantly justified; for example, the lately discovered Annalistic Present appears at 469 a, and *si* is definitely recognized as a concessive conjunction at 527 c n. 2.

Many other points of excellence in the revision might be mentioned. It is a pleasure to find the ablative with *dignus* and *indignus* classed under Specification (418 b), and *ne* with the perfect subjunctive reduced from first to third place in the enumeration of the ways in which prohibition may be expressed (450). In the treatment of the Deliberative Subjunctive the occasional use of the indicative with like meaning is recognized (444 a n.), and attention is called to the exclamatory and rejecting nature of some of the questions usually brought under this head. As a matter of fact many of them are not in the slightest degree "deliberative," and it might be questioned whether this state of affairs should not be frankly recognized, and a distinctive name assigned to the class. It is with pleasure also that one finds the facts with regard to *cum*-temporal and *antequam* and *priusquam* given in a proper setting and sequence (544 ff. and 550 ff.). In 511 § 3 appears what is perhaps the best and clearest exposition of a very prevalent theory concerning the original form of conditional speaking; and 517 e n. 2, which deals with the history of the contrary-to-fact construction in Latin, is a model of brief and accurate statement. Under the heading of Conditional Clauses of Comparison, 524 a adds important and necessary information

on the subject of tense. These illustrations may serve to show how carefully the book has been worked over. It must not however be inferred that the revisers have allowed themselves a free hand in introducing changes; as a matter of fact they have allowed to stand many things of doubtful value, such for instance as the classification of conditional sentences which separates certain future conditions from others quite analogous in the realm of the present and the past.

The improved type-display is by no means the least important feature of the new book, and it is supplemented by the bringing out into a place of prominence of classes less advantageously placed in the earlier edition. See for instance the prominence given at 440 to the concessive use of the independent subjunctive, and to the Conative Present at 467. It is doubtless through a mere oversight that the (if anything) more important Conative Imperfect (471 c) is not treated in the same way. In this connection may be mentioned what seems to be another slip at 472 n.; apparently we should there read "protases" instead of "apodoses." At 485 c the types have again played the writer false, for there we read "In clauses of Result, the Perfect Subjunctive is regularly (the Present rarely) used after secondary tenses."

It is not enough that a grammar designed for general use should merely record fairly well the facts of Latin; it must also present them in such a way as not to mislead those who would make it a guide to the writing of Latin. Too often this double requirement is lost sight of, with the result that some definitions are either carelessly worded or biased in such a way by some theory (historical or otherwise) that they are as misleading to the student of Latin composition as they are false to the linguistic consciousness of the Romans. Whatever the reason for the original form, the revised Allen and Greenough retains several statements open to objection from this point of view; e. g. 485 g, which reads "The Imperfect and Pluperfect in conditions contrary to fact . . . . are not affected by the sequence of tenses." If in this rule "conditions" means "protases," why not say so? As it stands the average student would inevitably think that both protasis and apodosis were referred to, and accordingly treat the pluperfect everywhere the same. Another example is afforded by 516 c "If the conditional act is regarded as completed before that of the apodosis begins, the Future Perfect is substituted for the Future Indicative in protasis, etc." My criticism of this statement is based not on theory but on difficulty experienced in actual practice. Give a thoughtful student this rule and the sentence "If he comes, send for me," and he perchance will see his way clear to writing nothing but *si venerit*, "because the coming is completed before the sending is to begin." To be sure the rule says "regarded as completed" and not simply "completed," but this distinction as applied to the case in hand only shifts the difficulty to another point; for we are then allowed to



write *si veniet*, though the action as a matter of fact is completed before that of the apodosis begins, but should the speaker "regard it as completed," then we are called on to use the form *si venerit*. Surely there is something wrong with the rule. Possibly the writer did not say exactly what he meant. Apparently the meaning intended is that the future perfect is used in protasis when the speaker selects a definite point in the future as the boundary within which the action of the protasis must take place to insure the coming to pass of the action of the apodosis; for instance, "If it shall have been done (e. g. before the beginning of the battle), we shall win." Whether this, without modification, would be an adequate rule for the writing of Latin is a question that I do not here raise.

The importance of this matter of precise definition is so great that I may, *scholastica lege*, allow myself the use of a third illustration. Section 441 deals with wishes, and lays down the rule, "The present tense denotes the wish as *possible*, the imperfect as *unaccomplished* in present time, the pluperfect as *unaccomplished* in past time." This statement makes no provision for an impossible future wish; e. g. "Would that this stone might turn into gold"—words spoken without the least hope or thought that the thing will come to pass, so that the subterfuge that the thing "is for the moment conceived of as possible" seems to be excluded; though what else is left for the large class of teachers who regard the grammar as the ultimate court of appeal, I do not see. Furthermore "unfulfilled in the present" is a phrase that falls short of the ideal; for we must use the imperfect subjunctive in translating a sentence like "Would that men were by nature good," and yet the unfulfilledness, so to speak, is not a thing of the present alone. The following rule (possibly suggested in part by Bennett, *Lat. Gram. App.* 365) avoids both these difficulties: "The present subjunctive is used in wishes that refer to the future, while the imperfect gives expression to a regret that something *is* or *is not*, the pluperfect that it *was* or *was not*." This rule is more consistent than the other in that it is based on time throughout, it covers the ground more completely, and its first clause is perhaps truer to Roman linguistic consciousness; it certainly is, if the phrase "wish as possible" was suggested by some theory with regard to an original or fundamental meaning of the subjunctive; for no such factor entered into the feeling of a Roman speaker. To him doubtless the present subjunctive in wishes covered the field left unoccupied by the other tenses of the subjunctive, and that part of the field was naturally the future.

In conclusion I may repeat what was said at the beginning. The work of revision is well and carefully done, and the hope of the publishers that old friends will be retained and many new ones gained ought to be in large measure realized.



**Latin Hexameter Verse, An Aid to Composition.** By S. E. WINBOLT, M. A., formerly Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a Master at Christ's Hospital. London, Methuen & Co., 1903, 266 pp.

This attractive little book is designed merely "as a help to fifth and sixth forms at public schools and undergraduates at universities." But it is not, by any means, to be classed with the average work of its kind. On the contrary, it may be read to advantage by any classical scholar.

As a matter of course, the model selected for study and imitation was Vergil. The choice is recommended by the practical experience of generations. Mr. Winbolt, however,—and this is, perhaps, the most valuable feature of his book—is fully alive to the fact that the art of a Vergil cannot be appreciated unless we have the background of it. Accordingly, the historical development has been sketched whenever a knowledge of it illustrates the point under discussion. "The principle adopted," says the author in his preface, "is to aid in the composition of hexameter verse by showing to some extent the development of this literary form, by inferring from the evolution what is the best workmanship, and by hinting how technique depends largely on thought." In other words, the methods as well as the results of scientific research have been made to do their part in a practical manual for the use of students. The plan is one which needs no justification.

One may see that Mr. Winbolt has a good acquaintance with the long series of investigations which, during the last thirty or forty years, have been devoted to the technical development of the Roman hexameter. His book gains much, however, from the fact that he is also an independent investigator. He has made statistics on his own account—as every one must do if he is to acquire a clear and adequate conception of this verse. The concise view of results which, in many cases, he has given us, is a genuine service to the cause in which he is interested. Certainly, a series of comprehensive statements for which the reasons given have been deduced from the genetic development of the hexameter itself and are accompanied by their proof can hardly fail to be as inspiring to a student as it is instructive. Certainly, with such training as a basis, he should be able to study the technique of his author to the best advantage and in time, perhaps, may develop a style which shall be classical and yet reflect his own individuality. Without it, at any rate, the summit of his attainment is likely to be represented by nothing much better than the watery dilution of some model.

Every one, then, will be likely to agree with Mr. Winbolt himself that the subject of verse composition as he has presented it owes a large debt to our knowledge of the growth of the hexameter as a literary form. On the other hand, it is of especial interest to observe that the creditor in this transaction has plainly profited by his investment. Each subject

has derived benefit from the other. The cause of it is to be ascribed, for the most part, to the author's purpose and point of view. It is true, of course, that the hexameter had been thoroughly examined. All the material of a certain sort had been carefully arranged and tabulated. It must be confessed, however, that, meanwhile, not enough, indeed, sometimes, nothing at all had been said of the causes and effects of the various phenomena recorded. This, of course, was not the fault of scientific method. On the contrary, it was rather the fault of those who for different reasons failed to perceive, or else, failed to attain the one legitimate object of scientific method. Statistics are not unlike a bank account. There are some whose interest in research ends with the collection of materials. These are the misers who accumulate a fortune—for the use of others. There are some again who can make money but have no definite idea of its proper use. Such are those who collect statistics but, largely through lack of a thorough and comprehensive training in other fields, fail to interpret the real meaning of them. Mr. Winbolt's book shows clearly enough that, so far as interpreting the growth of the Roman hexameter is concerned, one, at least, of these uncultivated fields had been a practical knowledge of verse composition. He is himself a trained investigator, but he approaches a side of development different from that which was seen by many investigators in the past. His theme is one which has forced him not only to examine phenomena but also to explain their significance. For this purpose, his years of teaching the art of verse composition give him a notable coign of vantage. He has the scholar's point of view. He adds to it, which is quite as important, the poet's point of view. It is one thing to analyze and dissect, another, to imitate and construct. Moreover, the conclusions drawn from the one are sure to affect the interpretation of those which we had previously drawn from the other. For this reason, Mr. Winbolt has been able to make his work fresh and suggestive by unfolding the real meaning and importance of some points which are not infrequently forgotten or ignored. Above all, he has done a genuine service to the study of the hexameter at this particular time in bringing out so clearly the value of his prefatory remark that "technique depends largely on thought." The truth of it, at least, as applied to poets of any distinction, is as undoubted for Latin as for any other cultivated language and, certainly, for the proper interpretation of statistics it is vital.

Mr. Winbolt divides the treatment of his subject into eight chapters, taking up in succession, 'pauses', 'caesuras', 'the beginning of the verse', 'the end of the verse', 'the meeting of vowels, consonants, and composite sounds', 'metrical conveniences', 'rhythmical structures', and 'descriptive verses'. The development of each theme is interspersed with practical hints to the student and appropriate examples of classical usage. Finally, there are a few exercises by way of illustration, and the book closes with a 'theme and variations'.

An extended and minute criticism of the author's exposition of his subject would be confined largely to the discussion of comparatively unimportant questions of detail, the decision of which, one way or the other, could not seriously affect the value and efficiency of his book. Not to transgress the limits of this review, I may merely mention, in passing, two or three points among those by which my attention was arrested in reading.

Mr. Winbolt says that his chapter on caesuras contains debatable matter. One might add that this observation may well be applied to any one's treatment of the subject. I confess that, for my own part, I look upon the law of conflict in the first four feet as the most important element to be considered here. To be sure, the author states it clearly enough (p. 143) in his chapter on the end of the verse, but he makes no particular use of it in his treatment of the caesuras. I have found, however, that nothing illuminates and simplifies the whole question of caesura so much as to begin the treatment of it by emphasizing the general applicability of this law to most of the questions involved. Indeed, I still believe, as I have already said elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that the observance of this rule, owing to the law of Latin accent, is the most important, perhaps, the principal organ of development in the purely technical history of the Roman hexameter. This is especially true, however, of the caesuras and, above all, of the so-called secondary (masculine) caesuras, the real object of which, in most cases, is to produce that conflict which, with a few definite exceptions, always accompanies them. For instance, to select a single prominent example: the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* was always admired by the Greeks. Indeed, in their later poetry, which, by the way, had neither the variety nor the dignity of the Latin form, it was, practically, the rule. In the Roman imitators, on the contrary, it is the rarest of all caesuras, and a marked preference was shown for the penthemimeral. Aside from the good reasons adduced by Mr. Winbolt, this may be explained by the fact that not only does it allow either a dactyl or a spondee in the third foot but, above all, as he himself has observed, that it always produces conflict there. Moreover, with this caesura conflict in the second, and especially in the fourth foot is more easily obtained. Conflict in these feet is produced by making the end of any word but a monosyllable coincide with the ictus. Here, then, we have the 'secondary' caesuras, by one or both of which the penthemimeral is usually accompanied.

This method of applying the law of conflict may seem in a certain sense to be rather mechanical. It is, however, a great help to students, inasmuch as it is a thread which goes far towards carrying us through the labyrinth of usage regarding caesuras, word ends and foot ends, word lengths in various parts of the verse, etc., etc. Moreover, after we have mechanically stated the law of conflict and illustrated the value of it as a test of accepted

<sup>1</sup> *Introd. H. L. Wilson's Juvenal*, N. Y. 1903, p. lxi.

usage, we may then proceed to the reasons for its existence and, having discussed the principle of variation and other disturbing factors, we may apply our results to the elucidation of exceptional usage.

For these reasons, I am tempted to think that, at least, from the point of view of instruction, it would have been better if Mr. Winbolt's treatment of pauses had been preceded, instead of followed by his chapter on caesuras. In that case, there are certain rhetorical pauses, more especially, of course, those coinciding with the caesuras, which would have been practically accounted for already, or, at all events, the discussion of them would have been considerably simplified. For instance, when the rarity of the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* has been noted and explained, the still greater rarity of a rhetorical pause at this point will follow almost as a matter of course.

In the interpretation of statistics, department is quite as important as chronological development. A case in point, perhaps, is Vergil's decreasing use of dactyls (p. 116) in the first foot (E. 65 %; G. 63 %; A. 61 %) accompanied by a corresponding increase of spondees in the fourth (E. 62.8 %; G. 71.5 %; A. 72.5 %). In other words, the gravity of the verse, as we should expect, has increased with each department in succession. The same rule applies to Ovid. The three schemata most frequently used by Homer are DDDD, DSDD, SDDD. Vergil's are DSSS, DDSS, DSDS. The difference, as Mr. Winbolt observes, is, of course, due to the nature of the two languages. But department will qualify, to some extent, his next remark that the difference is one which "Ovid tried in vain to overcome by searching out for use all the dactylic words known to the Latin tongue." If he did so, it was for his elegiac, not his epic hexameter. The proportion of dactyls in his *Metamorphoses* is less than that which we find in his *Heroides* nor can the difference be due to anything but department.

Mr. Winbolt enquires in his preface whether the composition of Latin Verse will continue to form a part of the English classical curriculum. Let us fervently hope that it will. At all events, he has chosen the best way of proving its educational importance. We must know our business and improve our methods if we expect to hold our own. Those who disapprove of the intense specialization of these days and believe that it needs the corrective influence of a broader scholarship will find this work an important 'exhibit' in their case. The Latin hexameters written by students and professors rarely find or deserve a permanent place in the Temple of Fame. But the beneficent effect of this training upon the single question of the development of the Roman hexameter, as reflected in Mr. Winbolt's little book, may well give pause to those who have been insisting that the practical value of verse composition is not commensurate with the difficulty of its attainment.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.



## REPORTS.

### ENGLISCHE STUDIEN.<sup>1</sup> Volume XXIX.

1. Kempe. A Middle English Tale of Troy. This is the version of the Troy legend preserved in 283 leaves of Laud Misc. MS. 595 in the Bodleian. Miss Kempe discusses the following topics: Manuscript and Authorship; Date; Relation of the Poem to the accounts by Guido and Benoit; The Poem as Illustrative of English Contemporary Life; Style. With this article may be summarized one on the same subject by Wülfing, on pp. 374 ff. of this volume. Besides correcting a considerable number of minor errors in Miss Kempe's article, Wülfing takes issue with her upon certain points, apparently with good reason. This text, known as the Laud Troy Book, was considered by Joly in his study of the relations between Benoit and Guido: his conclusions are unsupported by Miss Kempe, who thinks the poem is derived immediately from Guido, without use of Benoit; but Wülfing discovers some indications in it of acquaintance with the latter. He finds a strong resemblance between the Laud version and the alliterative Troy Book, and important evidence that these two and Barbour's version were related to an unknown predecessor, perhaps in French. Wülfing gives 1400 as an approximate date of the poem, and is inclined to regard it as contemporary in origin with Lydgate's Troy Book (1414-1420). Incidentally he corrects a displacement of lines in the manuscript. He has since completed the *editio princeps* of the text, published by the Early English Text Society.

Bobertag. Pope's Relation to the Aufklärung of the Eighteenth Century. A somewhat prolix analysis of Pope's unsystematic and contradictory ideas upon religion and ethics, based chiefly upon the Essay on Man. Though one of the important men of the movement he appears hardly to be identified with any single phase of it. He seems not to have accepted Christianity as a historical fact, yet he was neither pantheist nor deist, but believed in a personal God.

Among the reviews is a long and excellent discussion, by Logeman, of Jespersen's Fonetik.—Stoffels says of Franz' Shakespeare Grammatik, that it must supersede Abbott's Grammar, notwithstanding its failure to discuss Elizabethan pronunciation and Shakespeare's metre. The review includes some twenty-four pages of corrections and additional illustrations.—Streitberg reviews Osthoff's Vom Suppletivwesen der Indogermanischen

<sup>1</sup> By some oversight the Report of Volumes XXXI and XXXII (A. J. P. XXV 272) preceded instead of following XXIX and XXX.—B. L. G.



Sprachen. 'Suppletivwesen' is a term substituted by Osthoff for 'Defectivsystem', as applied to verbs such as ὀράω, εἶδον, etc.; to feminines formed from stems differing from those of the corresponding masculines, such as *Mutter* corresponding to *Vater*; to comparison of adjectives by different stems (*bonus, melior, optimus*); to the difference of stem between the ordinal and the cardinal of certain numerals (*unus, primus*); finally to pronouns declined on different stems (*ich, mir, sie, er*). Osthoff maintains that these are not defective remnants of originally complete systems or paradigms, but that they have always been defective, and have come by a sort of levelling or organizing process—really a kind of analogy—to supply each other's defects. Streitberg says that Osthoff neglects the earlier and most important stage of the development. A primitive people may have several words each designating a particular phase or method of a certain action, before they are able to invent a general word designating the common action. Thus the Cherokees had as yet no word for 'wash,' though they had words meaning respectively 'to wash one's own head', 'to wash another's head,' 'to wash hands and feet', 'to wash clothes' etc. It will be remembered that 'Suppletivwesen' is usually found among words most frequently used, and those which were most likely to be the ones earliest required. Thus perhaps ἰσθίειν and φαγεῖν, or *bonus, melior, optimus*, may have existed as synonyms, but representing slightly different phases of their common ideas. These differences were such as assisted them in the course of time, by the levelling process, to assume their present grammatical relations to each other, losing meanwhile, in part, or altogether, their earlier distinctions of meaning. In such systems as *sum, fui; am, was*, these distinctions are lost, but in such a case as ὀπάω, ἰδεῖν, the difference of meaning is still perceptible.

2. Sarrazin. The Origin of the Diphthongs *ai* and *au* in Modern English. The author attempts to reply to Luick's damaging criticism of his article on this subject, both in Volume XXVII. On pp. 405 ff. of the present volume Luick replies in turn, briefly, but decisively, without adding new material to the discussion.

Richter. An Old Portuguese Version of the Lear Saga. A reprint and translation into German of the story of Lear contained in an extract from a Breton chronicle found in the Livro do Conde de Barcelho, being the fourth of the Livros de Linhagens, and closely related to the Munich Brut. It has no importance with respect to Shakespeare's play.

Kraeger. The German Spy (1738). This is the title of a collection of letters purporting to come from an Englishman in his travels on the Continent, to a friend at home. It contains some account of Bremen and Hamburg, together with divers

allegories and tales. The latter are drawn from a periodical of 1725-1727 modelled upon the *Spectator*, and using much of its material. Kraeger points out some curious examples of this successive appropriation, in one case the matter borrowed returned eventually to England and appeared in the *Connoisseur*.

Michelson. Brain and Speech. The author traces the evolution of the human nervous system, and discusses the localization of various functions of language and speech in the brain, and the modifications of the surface and structure of the brain which accompany the various degrees of linguistic attainment. The author claims great importance for this kind of physiological study in the science of language—a claim not supported by his article.

3. Blöte. The Origin of the Tradition of the Knight of the Swan among certain English Noble Families. Any claims to descent from the knight of the swan must derive either from one of the three brothers, Eustace of Boulogne, Godfrey, and Balduin, or from Roger of Spain. Such claims in England do not appear before 1300, and consist chiefly in a heraldic use of the swan. The principal claimants were Robert of Tony (d. 1310); Guy of Beauchamp (d. 1316), Edward of Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham; and Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397), sixth son of Edward III., who alleged his right to the claim through his wife's family, the Bohuns. In each case the claim is late, and, so far as the author can discover, quite unfounded.

Morsbach. Notes on the Havelok. Upwards of a dozen notes in textual criticism.

Lange. Lydgate and Fragment B of the Romaunt of the Rose. An unconvincing attempt to prove, by evidence of style and rhyme, that Lydgate was the translator.

Hempl. English *beach*, *beck* (n.), *pebble*. The author first attempts to show that *beach*, *beck* and Germ. *Bach* are the same word. An examination of O. E. *bæc* and *bēc* shows that these two forms are really one word wavering between the *a*- and the *i*-declension. It passed into the *i*-declension perhaps through the early and frequently used locative *\*bæci* of the *a*-declension. From either form the normal modern English development is *beach* (M. E. *bēche*). North English *beck* is from the O. N. cognate *bekkr*. The development of the word proves that neither Sweet's and Kluge's *baki*-, nor Kluge's variant stem *\*bakki*-, nor *\*bakja*-, is the stem of the word. As to signification, from the first meaning—'place where water babbles over pebbles'—the development has been twofold: (1) 'pebbly spot in a stream', then, 'pebbles with or without water', then, 'pebbly seashore', 'beach'; (2) 'brook', then, 'stream-course', then, 'ravine'. O. E. *bæc*, *bēc*, the author thinks, mean not 'brook', but 'ravine', and

'pebbly spot in a stream.' *Bak* is a syllable in its origin imitative of the sound of running water, as is the syllable *peb* in *pebble* and its antecedents.

Wülffing, in a review of Keller's *Die Litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in Angelsächsischer Zeit*, speaks of it as a clear and remarkably suggestive account.—Logeman says that Cushman, in his study *The Devil and the Vice in the English Drama before Shakespeare*, has not succeeded in defining the character of the Vice, nor in identifying it in specific cases, though his theory that the characters of Devil, Vice, Fool, Clown, and Villain, 'are parallel and of independent origin and function', is probably right. The whole subject needs further study.

A note in the *Miscellanea* by Hoffmann, on Byron's *Giaour*, discusses points which were raised by Kölbing in a review of the author's book in Volume XXVI.

Volume XXX. 1. Smith, *The Chief Differences between the First and the Second Folio of Shakespeare*. Such differences are greater than critics have believed. They are rather syntactical than exegetical, and arose from the publishers' desire to render more 'correct' and bookish the unfettered syntax of the First Folio; in other words, to make a more readable edition. Most of the changes aim to restore concord of subject and predicate, especially by changing a singular predicate into a plural. The author fills ten pages with examples.

Boyle. *Troilus and Cressida*. An endeavor to show that the love story of the play was written by Shakespeare probably earlier than *Romeo and Juliet*; that he added the *Ulysses* story about 1606, when he recast the first three acts of the play; but that he abandoned the play to take up *Timon*; and that Marston added later the *Hector* story.

Meissner. *Lieutenant Cassio and Ancient Iago*. A study of the comparative rank implied by these titles in the time of Shakespeare. It is well-known that the poet for dramatic reasons, reversed the relative rank of these characters as represented in *Cinthio*, and made Cassio the higher of the two. Meissner finds that the lieutenant stood second to the commander-in-chief, with occasional command of all the troops, and that the ancient, though of lower rank, probably stood high in the important order of standard-bearers, enjoying personal relations of great intimacy with the officer first in command.

Fernow. On *Tempest* I. 2. 387-394. In his review of Franz' *Shakespeare Grammatik* in Volume XXIX Stoffel proposed to restore the punctuation of the First Folio in ll. 389, 390. Fernow defends the modern reading, which dates from Pope.

Luckwaldt. On the Origin of the Boer War.

2. Koeppel. *Byron's Astarte*. The principal source of *Manfred* is not Shelley's early novel, *St. Irvyne*, but a story of incestuous love which appeared in 1802 in Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du Christianisme*, and in 1805 was inserted in his *Atala*. Its influence appears chiefly in the character of *Astarte*, but also in that of *Manfred*, though the latter is considerably changed and heightened by Byron as compared with its original. The character of the abbot and certain details of the story seem also to have been suggested by the French narrative.

Kölbing. On the History of the Composition of *Childe Harold* I, II. From Kölbing's literary remains, being the beginning of the introduction to his proposed edition of *Childe Harold*. The article consists chiefly of contemporary letters and notes bearing upon Byron's revision of the first draft, from which he removed certain blemishes and expressions of extreme opinion. Byron's autograph of the first draft was, in 1832, in possession of Henry Drury of Harrow, but has since disappeared.

Bernthsen. The Influence of Pliny in Shelley's Earlier Works. Shelley read Pliny before he read Spinoza, and certain strongly pantheistic utterances, especially in the *Necessity of Atheism*, and the *Refutation of Deism*, are traceable to Pliny's *Natural History*. Pliny's influence upon Shelley's idea of God is, however, quite superseded by that of Spinoza's profounder and nobler teaching.

Richter. On Shelley's Philosophy (concluded in Number 3). The author first corrects certain errors of method and result in Bernthsen's *Der Spinozismus in Shelley's Weltanschauung*. She discusses the following topics: Shelley's *Necessity of Atheism*, *Queen Mab*, *Pantheism*, *Amor Intellectualis*, *Intellectual Beauty*, *Necessity and Free Will*, *Good and Evil*, *The State and Society*, *The Millennium*, *Immortality*. The conclusion is, in effect, that in any case Shelley must, to the end of his life, be regarded as only 'ein Werdender'; 'das natürliche ausreifen und ausklingen ist ihm versagt'. At first he was influenced by English empiricists, especially Locke, and by French materialists, especially Volney and Holbach; later by Plato, Spinoza, and Christianity. The influence of Godwin as an eclectic is at all times perceptible. Shelley so assimilated the ideas which he gathered from others, that each appears in a peculiar form in his works. His pantheism is characterized by his identifying nature, beauty, and love, in one supreme power; his conception of freedom by his insistence upon absolute control over oneself as the true independence, and upon reform of oneself as the necessary means thereto; and his conception of immortality is marked by belief in absorption in nature after death. The article is important for all students of Shelley.

Reviews. Henderson discusses Brown's *The Wallace* and the Bruce restudied, an attempt to prove these poems mere forgeries. He regrets that so much labor and ingenuity should be rendered futile by the domination of 'a wildly improbable hypothesis'.



In the Miscellanea are the following notes: on Beowulf 1363, from E. M. Wright; on Havelok, from Holthausen; on a XIV. Century Version of the Ancren Riwe, from Paues; on the Authorship of Advice, from Lange; on Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, from Krueger. Wülfing is the author of lexical notes on the following O. E. words: *bewitan*, *circ-hata*, *ealdgefā*, *eodorcan*, *forslæwan*, *gewerian*, *græs*, *onveran* and *unhlidian*, *togeenan*.

3. Holthausen. Contributions to the History of the Phonological Development of Modern English. Four hitherto unnoticed Dutch-English Grammars of the dates 1646, 1664, 1705, and 1758 respectively, and a Portuguese-English grammar of 1762, are described by the author, and the phonological equivalents which they record are given.

Horn. On Modern English Phonology. Notes on the pronunciation in modern dialects, of *tl-*, *dl-*, for *cl-*, *gl-*; *-in*, *-ingg-*, *ink*, for *-ing*.

Koepfel. Omission of *rather* before *than*. A brief note.

Björkmann. Etymological Notes. On Modern English *elk*, *fry* (small fish), *groom*, *hug*, *nasty*, and Middle English *likpot*. *Elk* is probably Scandinavian; *fry* may be connected with O. F. *froie* (cf. O. F. *frier*, Godefroy); *nasty* may be from Dan. *nasket* + Eng. *y*.

Wyld. In Explanation of Modern English *kex* (hemlock). The author derives it from W. S. *\*cȳsc*, *\*cȳx* (O. Kent. *\*cēsc*, *\*cēx*) < Germ. *\*kunski-z* < Idg. *\*ǵnt-kī*, and adds the forms of the word in the various dialects.

In this number seven recent publications on Chaucer are reviewed by Koch, and one by Koepfel. They include Kirk's Enrolments and Documents from the Public Record Office, etc., comprising all known Records relating to Chaucer; Spielmann's The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer, Skeat's The Chaucer Canon, Maynadier's Sources and Analogues of the Wife of Bath's Tale, and Petersen's Sources of the Parson's Tale.

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# REVUE DE PHILOGIE, VOL. XXVII.

## No. I.

1. Pp. 5-12. The buildings of the Acropolis, after the Anonymus Argentinensis, by P. Foucart. The document examined is a Greek papyrus, found in Egypt, and published by Bruno Keil in 1902. The author of this article discusses the papyrus critically and draws much interesting information from it in regard to



the dates of events connected with the building of the Parthenon and the Propylaea and the dedication of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias.

2. Pp. 13-20. Georges Romain critically discusses ten passages of Plaut. Epidicus.

3. Pp. 21-25. Ciceronian Studies. II. Use of the Demonstrative Pronoun coordinated with a Relative. By Jules Lebreton.

The investigation leads to the conclusion that the demonstrative is employed only in cases where the relative would be inconvenient or impossible. These cases are enumerated and illustrated.

4. Pp. 26-36. The Parisian MSS of Gregory Nazianzen. (Continuation). By A. Misier.

5. Pp. 37-48. Notes on some Palimpsests of Turin, by Emile Chatelain. These contain fragments of Livy, Cassianus, Eusebius translated by Rufinus, and Cassiodorus.

6. Pp. 49-51. Note on an Inscription of Ephesus, by B. Haussoullier. The author announces a study of the papers of Huyot, which he declares to be of great value.

7. P. 51. In Plaut. Persa 159 Louis Havet proposes *Πόθεν τ'* ornamenta (crasis, presumably, not elision).

8. P. 52. Dr. M. L. Earle proposes an ingenious rearrangement of Caes. B. G. I, 1.

9. Pp. 53-63. The Text of Seneca the Elder. (Conclusion). By Henri Bornecque.

10. P. 64. Critical note on Plaut. Men. 98 (read *it* after *illic*), by Louis Havet.

11. Pp. 65-78. Notes on the Text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus, by Victor Mortet.

12. Pp. 79-81. A false god of the Chaldaean Oracles, by J. Bidez. It is a question of one *ὑπεζωκός* who owes his existence to a misconception.

13. Pp. 81-85. New fragments of Soterichus? By J. Bidez. The doubtful fragments are found on two leaves of papyrus from Gizeh published by Reitzenstein in 1901.

14. Pp. 86-88. Latin Studies (Continuation). Supplementary note on 'quid est quod'. By F. Gaffiot. Additional examples explained according to the principle enunciated in the former article.

15. Pp. 89-110. Book Notices. 1) Homer's *Odysee* erklärt von J. U. Faesi. Erster Band. Neunte Auflage bearbeitet von Adolf Kaegi. Berlin, 1901. Reviewed by E. Chambry, who describes the work, points out its merits which are great, makes

some adverse comments on certain details, and declares that it marks progress not only over the edition of Faesi, but also that of Ameis-Hentze, though it cannot replace the latter, which remains indispensable for philologists. 2) *Herakleitos von Ephesos. Griechisch und deutsch von Hermann Diels.* Berlin, 1901. Albert Martin gives a brief analysis with favorable comment. 3) *Eschyle. L'Orestie. Traduction nouvelle publiée avec une Introduction sur la légende, un Commentaire rythmique et des Notes, par Paul Mazon.* Paris, 1903. L. Bodin reviews this work very favorably, but takes exception to a good many details. He says: *M. Mazon n'a pas cru qu'il fût nécessaire, pour traduire Eschyle, de ne pas écrire en français et sa traduction de l'Orestie est à la fois brillante et remarquablement fidèle.* 4) L. Bodin et P. Mazon, *Extraits d'Aristophane.* Paris, 1902. O. Navarre finds this work very learned,—almost too learned for the use of classes. He analyzes the work, calling attention to some slight faults, and highly praises it as a whole, and especially the part devoted to the particles. 5) *Thucydidis Historiae ad optimos codices denuo ab ipso collatos.* Recensuit Dr. Carolus Hude. Tomus alter. Libri V-VIII. Leipzig, 1901. Briefly and in some respects rather unfavorably mentioned by Albert Martin, who concedes, however, that the work marks considerable progress. 6) *Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum Scholia . . . ed. et app. crit. ornavit P. Couvreur.* Paris, 1901. Favorably reviewed by G. Rodier, who gives a considerable list of passages in which the critical procedure of the author seems at least doubtful to him. 7) *Quaestiones Platonicae, scripsit Gualtherus Janell.* Leipzig, 1901. G. Rodier, after discussing briefly the nature of the chronology problem, expresses the opinion that this work brings a useful contribution,—seemingly to the evidence that certain lines of investigation should be abandoned. The statistics of hiatus lead Janell to this order: *Lysis, Euthydemus, Parmenides, Charmides, Republic I, Phaedo, Protagoras, Republic IX and IV, Apology, Meno, Hippias Minor, Crito, Banquet, Gorgias, Euthyphro, Republic VII, X, Laches, Republic VIII, Theaetetus, Republic VI, II, III, V, Cratylus, Menexenus, Phaedrus, Laws V, III, XII, X, II, XI, I, IX, IV, Philebus, Timaeus, Critias, Sophista, Politicus.* Whether the author really believes in this, the reviewer leaves unclear. 8) *Schüler-Kommentar zu Platons Euthyphron, von Dr. G. Schneider.* Leipzig, 1902. G. Rodier commends the brevity and cheapness of this school-edition. 9) Three works mentioned together: a) *The Iliad of Homer. Books IX and X. Edited with introduction and notes by J. C. Lawson.* Cambridge, 1902. b) *Omero, L'Iliade, commentata da C. O. Zuretti.* Vol. IV, ch. XIII-XVI. Turin, 1902. c) *Lisia. Orazioni scelte commentate da Eug. Ferrai.* Vol. I. Seconda edizione rifatta da Giuseppe Fraccaroli. Turin, 1902. Albert Martin mentions briefly these works, commending, with some reserve, the edition of Lawson, and pro-

nouncing the Italian edition not without value. The edition of select orations of Lysias he finds on the whole satisfactory, but not without fault. 10) Cassii Dionis Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt edidit U. Philippus Boissevain. Vol. III. Berlin, 1901. Analyzed and favorably criticised by A. M. 11) T. Macci Plauti Epidicus iterum recensuit G. Goetz. Leipzig, 1902. Georges Romain, recognizing the merits of this edition, finds it entirely too conservative. 12) F. Pradei. De praepositione in prisca Latinitate ui atque usu. Leipzig, 1901. G. R. makes brief and rather unfavorable mention of this work. 13) G. Lodge. Lexicon Plautinum (A—ALIVS). Leipzig, 1901. Favorably mentioned by G. R. 14) Four works mentioned together: a) M. Tullii Ciceronis in M. Antonium oratio Philippica prima . . . par H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Paris, 1902. b) Schülerkommentar zu Ciceros Philippischen Reden I, II, III, VII, von Hermann Nohl. Leipzig, 1903. c) M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes in L. Catilinam quattuor. Edited by J. C. Nicol. Cambridge, 1902. d) M. Tullio Cicerone, il primo libro de officiis commentato dal dott. prof. G. Segre. Torino, 1902. J. L. finds the first named work suitable for advanced students, but weak in its critical apparatus. The second work he merely describes as being intended for gymnasium students. The third he considers useful for pupils. The last, which gives only a "historical and philosophical" commentary, he finds prepared carefully and laboriously, but without sufficient method. 15) Carlo Pascal. Di una fonte greca del Somnium Scipionis di Cicerone. Nota letta alla R. Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti. Napoli, 1902. J. L. briefly mentions this paper with approval as showing that "the cosmographic theories so complacently developed in the Dream of Scipio are taken in great part from the 'Hermes', a poem of Eratosthenes." 16) Prolegomena in Pseudocelli de universi natura libellum scripsit Joannes de Heyden-Zielewicz. (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, VIII, 3). Breslau, 1901. Briefly analyzed and commended by J. L. 17) Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat de Fide Catholica, untersucht von E. K. Rand. Leipzig, 1901. Jules Lebreton does not agree with the author that the internal evidence is conclusive against the authorship of Boethius. 18) Der echte Hiob, von Eugen Müller. Hannover, 1902. J. L. gives the substance of this work,—that Job was an atheist, and that the book of Job consists of four parts composed at different times, and adds, "Attendons, pour discuter la thèse de M. M., qu'il ait bien voulu en donner les preuves." 19) P. Huvelin, Les tablettes magiques et le droit romain. Fasc. I. Mâcon, 1901. Norbert Hachez summarizes this work with high appreciation. 20) Dom Fernand Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie. Paris, 1903. Fr. Cremont, criticising this work in the main favorably, finds that it promises to be too voluminous because of the introduction of unessential matter.

## No. 2.

16. Pp. 111-121. Epigraphic Notes, by J. Delamarre. Discussion of inscriptions from Aegiale, Arcesine, and Minoa, relating to incursions of pirates and services rendered by certain citizens in repelling such incursions or redeeming captives.

17. P. 122. Louis Havet considers "quibus fructibus me decollauit" (cited from Lucilius, Diomedes, p. 365, 4 Keil) an anapaestic dimeter.

18. Pp. 123-4. Louis Havet discusses the rhythm of the prose of Martial's prefaces.

19. Pp. 125-138. Origin of the Bâle edition of Gregory Nazianzen. By A. Misier. This elaborate article shows that the edition in question was derived from the Aldine of 1536 and the Codex Palatinus 402.

20. Pp. 139-150. Notes on the text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus, by Victor Mortet (fourth article). This article treats; a) the definition of Geometry by Boethius and Cassiodorus compared with that given by Quintilian and Martianus Capella; b) Cassiodorus and the Principia geometricae disciplinae.

21. Pp. 151-3. M. L. Earle criticises Parmentier's treatment of Soph. O. R. 10 f.

22. P. 153. Louis Havet reads angulos usu omnis in Plaut. Aul. 437, and changes id to tu in *ibid.* 439.

23. Pp. 154-7. The text of the Orator, by Henri Bornecque. Discussion of the question which MS most accurately represents the ancient text. Conclusion in favor of A, though L (that is F O P) is not to be entirely discarded.

24. Pp. 158-163. The seventh paragraph of the papyrus of Strassburg (published by Bruno Keil, 1902), discussed by E. Cavaignac with a view to settling the question of the discontinuation of the *κωλακρέται*.

25. Pp. 164-208. Latin Studies. II. The Subjunctive of Repetition. By F. Gaffiot. It will be remembered that in the *Revue de Philologie* (1884), VIII, pp. 75 ff., M. Bonnet denied that the subjunctive in Latin is ever due to the fact that repetition is expressed. He arrived at the conclusion that the indicative was always the mood of repetition pure and simple, and when the subjunctive was employed, it was "despite the idea of repetition". Gaffiot goes still further and maintains that there is neither subjunctive of repetition nor subjunctive despite repetition: that in none of the passages concerned had the author in his mind the idea of repetition. The authors examined are Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Tacitus.



26. Pp. 209-214. Paul Mazon publishes a translation in French of the Persians of Timotheus of Miletus, with notes.

No. 3.

27. Pp. 215-222. Athens and Thasos at the end of the fifth century, by P. Foucart. An acute discussion of the relations of Thasos to the Athenians, based on an inscription, now much mutilated, but copied with several errors centuries ago, and referred to in Dem. XX. 63 (Tauchnitz).

28. P. 223. Πρωτόχορος. P. F. successfully defends this word in the fragments of Alexis and Antidotus quoted by Athenaeus. It is sustained by inscriptions, and probably means κορυφαῖος.

29. Pp. 224-232. A dozen passages of Cic. Imp. Pomp. critically discussed by Louis Havet.

30. Pp. 233-5. M. L. Earle makes some acute observations on the interpretation of Hor. Sat. I, 1.

31. Pp. 236-244. Notes on the end and consequences of the Aetolian war, by Wilhelm Vollgraff. The discrepancy between Livy (XXXVII, 9 and 11) and Polybius (XXI, 30 and 32) is ascribed to a deliberate perversion of facts by Livy with a view to placing the Romans in a more favorable light.

32. Pp. 245-7. Paul Tannery defends "auctor gromaticus" in Cassiodor. Variarum III, 52.

33. Pp. 248-261. Book Notices. 1) V. Gardthausen, Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften. Byzantinisches Archiv, fasc. 3. Leipzig, 1903. D. Serruys finds many serious omissions, but pronounces the work nevertheless a valuable aid to laborers in this field. 2) Die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunktionen "bis" und "so lange als." Von Albert Fuchs. Würzburg, 1902. Analyzed by E. Chambry. An interesting treatment of the origin and development of these constructions, but without any results modifying the rules of the present grammars. 3) Eschilo. I Sette a Tebe con note di Vigilio Inama. Turin, 1902. P. Mazon, disapproving a few details, highly commends this work. 4) Gevaert und Vollgraff. Les Problèmes musicaux d'Aristote. Gand, 1903. L. Laloy commends this work as a whole, but rejects a few details. The genuineness of the book is supported by a new argument of great weight: the vocabulary is not contaminated by the doctrine of Aristoxenus. 5) Dr. Hugo Bretzl. Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges. Leipzig, 1903. Paul Tannery reviews at some length. The author shows that Theophrast. Hist. Plant. records the botanical discoveries made during the campaigns of Alexander. The reviewer, though not sure that Alexander organized any scientific corps, accepts and highly praises the essentials of the work, but is quite severe on its useless expansion. He commends some of the emendations. 6) Two works of Prof. R.



Methner mentioned together. a) Die Darstellung der lateinischen Temporalsätze in der Obertertia, Bromberg, 1902; b) Über die Begriffe "Situation" und "näherer oder begleitender Umstand" in der lateinischen Syntax, Berlin, 1902. These works are briefly analyzed by F. Gaffiot, and favorably criticised. 7) Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, edidit Hermannus Dessau. Vol. II. Pars. 1. Berolini, 1902-4. Victor Chapot, after finding a number of faults, expresses high appreciation of the work as a whole. 8) Lucrèce, Livre III, Texte latin, accompagné du commentaire critique et explicatif de Munro, traduit . . . par A. Reymond. Paris, 1903. Very briefly, and in general favorably, mentioned by Henri Bornecque. 9) Augusto Romizi, Compendio di storia della letteratura latina; quinta edizione; Sandron, Milano-Palermo-Napoli, 1903. Philippe Fabia commends this work, especially as evincing originality. 10) Two works of H. Bornecque: a) Sénèque le Rhéteur, Controverses et Suasoirs. Traduction nouvelle, texte revu; ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française. Paris, 1902. b) Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le père. Lille, 1902. Philippe Fabia regrets that these works were not prepared for philologists who would have appreciated them and derived benefit from them, instead of for the public, who will not read them. 11) Carolus Enarus Borenus, De Plutarcho et Tacito inter se congruentibus. Diss. inaug., Helsingforsiae, 1902. Philippe Fabia does not accept the author's contention that Plutarch derived his biographies of Galba and Otho from Tacitus with occasional use of the source from which Tacitus drew, but holds that each drew from the same source. 12) Benedetto Romano, La critica letteraria in Aulo Gellio. Torino, 1902. Philippe Fabia highly commends this work, which collects and arranges the literary opinions scattered through the Noctes Atticae.

#### No. 4.

34. Pp. 263-8. On the Proagon, by Paul Mazon. An interesting discussion of the character of the *προάγων*, based on all the ancient references to it.

35. Pp. 269-272. M. L. Earle critically discusses several passages of Vergil, Horace, and Catullus.

36. P. 272. C.-E. Ruelle rejects *ἀνεσιν* as proposed for *πνεσιν* in Aristot. Probl. XIX, 3, by Laloy in his review of the work of Gevaert and Vollgraff in the preceding number of the Rev. de Phil.

37. Pp. 273-8. Latin Studies. III. The subjunctive after quotiens. By Félix Gaffiot. The author modifies his statement which implied that the idea of repetition was never present to the mind of the writer when the subjunctive was used with a relative, but maintains that the subjunctive is never due to this idea. He replies to critics and discusses quotiens-clauses in particular.

38. Pp. 279-287. Notes on the text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus. (Last article). By Victor Mortet. The author closes this series of important contributions, by filling a lacuna by means of some fragments found in certain MSS, especially two in Munich.

39. P. 288. C. E. R. reports some variants (furnished by a MS in the Bibliothèque nationale) for the text of Prellus *περὶ παραδόξων ἀναγνωσμάτων*.

40. Pp. 289-293. The rôle of Aeneas in the second book of the Aeneid, by A. Cartault. An interesting explanation of Vergil's failure to have his hero make good his lofty assertion "quorum pars magna fui."

41. Pp. 294-310. Book Notices. 1) *Homeri Carmina recensuit* . . . Arth. Ludwich. Pars prior, Ilias. Volumen prius. Leipzig, 1902. Reviewed at length by Albert Martin. The reviewer notes the fact that the "pars posterior" appeared thirteen years ago. He analyzes the work and explains the principles followed by the editor in constituting the text. He is not in accord with the author in all these principles nor in all the details, but considers the work very able and useful. 2) *Hesiodi Carmina. Accedit Homeri et Hesiodi certamen. Recensuit Aloisius Rzach.* Leipzig, 1902. Albert gives an analysis of this monumental work, and highly praises it. 3) C. Gaspar, *Essai de chronologie pindarique.* Bruxelles, 1900. P. Mazon, reviewing this work in the main very favorably, makes some valuable remarks. 4) *Euripidis Fabulae ediderunt R. Prinz et N. Wecklein.* Vol. III. Pars VI. Rhesus. *Accedunt addenda et corrigenda, vita Euripidis, tabula.* N. Wecklein. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1902. E. Chambry, making some slight objections to details, highly praises this concluding volume of this great work. 5) *Johannes Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica.* Vol. I, 1901. Vol. II, 1903. Berlin. B. Haussoullier gives a brief and laudatory account of this work. It contains a list of all Athenians known from inscriptions, authors, and coins, Athenians by birth and by decree, from the time of the decennial Archons to the absorption of Attica by the Roman empire. The entries number 24,547. There are two appendixes, one a *Conspectus Demotarum*, the other *Archontum Tabulae*, a list of Archons from B. C. 683 down. With the Archons are enumerated also the Clerks and the tribes to which they belonged. 6) *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ ὑπὸ Ν. Γ. Πολίτου. Παροιμίας. Τόμος γ.* Athens, 1901. A. M. favorably mentions this volume, referring to his previous mention of the first volumes (*Rev. de Phil.* XXVI, p. 248). This third volume includes B and Γ to γλύφω, and contains 686 pages. 7) *Virgil's epische Technik* von Richard Heinze. Leipzig, 1903. A. Cartault describes this book at considerable length. He considers it an important work, but naturally cannot accept everything where so

much is subjective. 8) P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI erklärt von Eduard Norden. Leipzig, 1903. A. Cartault, though he accepts most of the author's conclusions, condemns his method, and sees no reason why this edition should be one of a series called *Commentaires scientifiques*. 9) *De pauperum cura apud Romanos*. By J. J. Esser. Kampen, 1902. A. Grenier criticises this book with some severity. Its theme seems to be: "les Romains n'ont pu pratiquer la charité, car cette vertu fut enseignée aux hommes par le Christ!" 10) *L'Ile Tibérine dans l'antiquité*, par Maurice Besnier. Paris, 1902. A. Grenier gives an analysis of this work, which contains all that is known of the island in the Tiber at Rome. The book (of 357 pages) necessarily treats of a great variety of subjects. 11) *Morceaux choisis de Prosateurs latins du moyen âge et des temps modernes, publiés avec des notices et des notes par P. Thomas*. Gand, 1902. F. Gaffiot commends this work highly, especially as the notes direct attention to departures from classical latinity.

The *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is completed in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

### BRIEF MENTION.

I have often regretted that I did not retain the title *Lanx Satura*, which I used in some of the earlier numbers of the Journal as a designation for such lighter matters as fall within the province of the philological observer. But the tone of those notes, affected doubtless by bad habits contracted in the service of the daily press, shocked my staid British critics, and I instituted instead a *Brief Mention* department which was intended at first to make some amends to authors and publishers for the failure to notice the books sent in for review. In doing this, I had distinctly in mind the example of the Atlantic Monthly which at that time used to give short notices of current literature in which book after book was despatched in a few lines. Of late years this characteristic feature of the Atlantic has been suppressed and with it a curious exhibition of impressionistic criticism. Now, if the benevolent reader or malevolent author will scan the pages of *Books Received*, he will appreciate the difficulties of any editor who should undertake personally or by proxy to notice, however briefly, the various publications that find a lodgment on the editorial table. Still, I cannot for the life of me assume the lofty attitude of some of my colleagues of the philological press, who frankly, not to say, brutally declare that they do not hold themselves bound even to acknowledge the receipt of works that have not been asked for, much less to pass them under review. Cursed with a sensitive soul, I actually suffer, *mediis sitiens in undis*, when I make out the trimestrial lists. The temptation to wet one's whistle in this tide of literature, and then to whistle is very great. So coming back this time after an unusually long absence, I find myself confronted with an ocean of books, nearly all of which appeal to me in some way. But what are half a dozen pages among so many? One of the Paris dailies has a column given up to three-line notes. But such limits are somewhat mechanical and then the titles of the books alone would often take up all the space. So for instance, what notice compatible with *Brief Mention* could be taken of the tenth edition of BEN-SELER'S well-approved *Griechisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch* (Teubner), brought out under the supervision of the well-known scholar KÆGI, whom I hope it is no disrespect to call 'Short-cut KÆGI'? The list of authors included in the dictionary would of itself occupy a respectable number of lines. However, one curious fact may be mentioned. It was no small tribute to Gottfried Hermann's influence that he forced προκλητικά into our

Greek Lexicons, and in this dictionary Wilamowitz's *Lesebuch* is a file-closer to a procession headed by Homer. It would be worth knowing how many words were added thereby to the thesaurus.

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To this new BENSELER the new KAEGI-AUTENRIETH'S *Wörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten* (Teubner) has been made to conform. A tenth edition of a popular manual is seldom sharply scrutinized, and we are under obligations to Professor KAEGI for telling us where the chief work of revision has lain, to wit, in the etymology. This is as we should have expected; and the meek tone of the editor is in striking contrast to the confident spirit in which many of the problems were attacked in times not so far distant from ours. Etymological studies have a great charm for everybody—the unqualified as well as the qualified—and there was at one time great danger lest the guard-room frolics and guard-room squabbles of the regular garrison might give outsiders an opportunity to enter in and possess the etymological Niflheim. Hence the temperance pledge of KAEGI. To be sure, the outsiders will not all be pleased. So ἀγχιψ, for which I cited (A. J. P. XXIII 112) the old AUTENRIETH, now appears as 'nur für Ziegen erkletterbar, steil', and there is a dead silence as to the latter part of the compound.

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While on the chapter of school-books, I may say that the *Journal* has for obvious reasons tried to hold itself aloof from either favorable or hostile criticism of this range of literature. But it has not always been easy to suppress impatience at outrageously slovenly work nor has it always been easy to draw the line between text-books that incorporate new scientific principles in elementary forms and text-books that are merely tenth transmitters of foolish phrases. Then, again, a series may be started on a new basis, and challenge the interest of all who have to do with pedagogical matters. And what philologist in America has not? So when the FREYTAG-TEMPSKY publications came out I did not fail to remark on the rebellion against the overloaded commentary as indicated by the appearance of school editions that contained only the text, a concise historical introduction and a dictionary of proper names (A. J. P. XIII 125). This series seems to have had considerable success and every new quarter brings to the *Journal* new FREYTAG-TEMPSKY editions under the supervision of competent scholars. The commentaries—when there are commentaries—appear in separate volumes, a manner of compromise between the notes at the foot of the page, abhorred by teachers who do not know enough to make notes of their own, and the notes at the back of the book, abhorred



by teachers who abominate the waste of time made necessary by turning over pages. Of course, it would be easy to say that the names of the editors, KELLER for Horace, ZINGERLE for Livy, WEIDNER for Tacitus, NOHL for Cicero, A. T. CHRIST for Plato and SCHUBERT for Sophokles would be guarantee enough, but such a wholesale commendation would be flying in the face of my daily precept and my daily practice in the class-room, where I am no respecter of persons.

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If, as I have just said, the introduction of new methods in the preparation of school editions deserves consideration in a technical publication like this, the introduction of new authors into the range of school-reading is one of the signs of the times that a philological journal cannot afford to neglect. 'Is one of the signs of the times' or rather 'would have been' before the cataclysm of the WILAMOWITZ *Lesebuch*. And so some years ago I called attention to BIESE's *Griechische Lieder* (A. J. P. XII 518), a second edition of which has just appeared; and JURENKA's *Römische Lyriker*, in which the well-known Viennese Pindarist has given us the Greek models as well as the Roman reproductions, offers a tempting theme for comment. On a much larger scale, a scale that brings the book within the reach of scholarly criticism, is the *Antologia della melica greca* by ANGELO TACCONE (Turin, Loescher). In fact, FRACCAROLI, who has furnished a preface to the work of his pupil, maintains that in the number of the fragments TACCONE has surpassed not only the anthology of Michelangeli but all the good foreign anthologies—'all'infuori di quella copiosissima, estesissima ed ottima < collezione > di Herbert Weir Smyth'. In the determined effort to compass all the literature of the subject in hand Dr. TACCONE shows that he belongs to the new Italian school of classical philologists (A. J. P. XXIV 108), who are outdoing their German masters in respect of 'Vollständigkeit'. In this as in other things there seems to be a lack of perspective, almost inevitable in the work of a young scholar. The commentary is sometimes too minute and the style somewhat diffuse; and in the present state of metrical science or nescience the detailed description of the metres is, at least in my eyes, so much lumber. But this is merely a preliminary notice—to be followed, I hope, by a serious review. The book, in any case, is a welcome addition to our apparatus; for the recent discoveries in Egypt have enabled Dr. TACCONE to give his readers some of the fragments of Sappho that have appeared since the date of Professor SMYTH's *Greek Melic Poets*, on which Dr. TACCONE has drawn freely, as may be imagined, but, so far as I can discern, in a legitimate way and with proper acknowledgment.

Apart from the lack of space, to which I have adverted above, for even a short notice of the leading publications of the season, there is a strong temptation to excessive condensation; and one cannot be pithy at all hazards without being unfair. Brevity, which is the soul of wit, is often the quintessence of falsehood. The bulletin lies because it is so brief. If any one will watch, as I have done for years, the summaries of philological journals, illustrations will not be lacking. I have an acanthology of criticisms of my various writings which serves to amuse me at odd times. So Bornemann's judgment of my Pindar was harsh enough, but the concentration of it in the *Revue de Philologie* excelled the spite of the original: 'ce qui est original ne vaut rien'. An English reviewer had said of the author of *Essays and Studies* that 'when he adopts the lighter style, he fails both in humour and charm'. That is bad enough. But the German summarist is still worse: 'Die angehängten leichteren Studien leiden durch Streben nach Geist und Witz, die beide dem Verfasser fremd sind.' Here, to be sure, the summary is longer than the original, but that need not surprise us in a German. Sometimes the condensed statement is absolutely correct, and yet the impression is miserably inexact. So I cannot deny that my article on the Temporal Sentences of Limit in Greek (A. J. P. XXIV 388-407) may be said to have been written 'im Anschluss an Fuchs'. But who would gather from this passing notice in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1. Juni 1904 that I had made an independent study of the subject, long before Fuchs, that I scouted his theory, indicated his omissions of important facts and corrected his interpretation of the phenomena? And yet who would be so unreasonable as to quarrel with the 'Referent'? Not I, for one.

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Spiritually I belong to the sect of Flagellants and keep my philological body under by frequent scourgings. I have not only made a choice collection of the whip-lashes that have touched up my personal transgressions, but I cherish an assortment of cowhides meant for the class of sinners to which I belong. Chief among these latter *nervi* intended for the chastisement of grammarians, is one provided by my good friend, President WHEELER, of the University of California, who wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1898 as follows: 'Grammar is to the average healthy human being the driest and deathliest of the disciplines. Except as it serves a temporary practical purpose of offering a first approach to the acquisition of language, and of presenting a convenient tentative and artificial classification of certain facts, it brings spiritual atrophy and death both to him who gives and him who takes'.

This seems to be strange language, coming as it does from one who began his brilliant career with a dissertation entitled 'Der griechische Nominal-accent' (cf. A. J. P. IX 2), a dissertation by which he is still best known in purely philological circles, a dissertation, which is still authoritative after nearly twenty years, a long life for a theory. So on examining a new up-to-date *Traité d'accentuation grecque* by J. VENDRYES (Paris, Klincksieck), I find *la loi de Wheeler* figuring repeatedly, and at first, it seems hardly credible that a man who has given a law to grammar should turn his back on grammar. But that by grammar President WHEELER meant syntax is plainly shown by a later address, which I quoted A. J. P. XXIII 1. Of course, President WHEELER's indictment of syntax is all the more effective because he knows the life of the class-room, but after all when it comes to an assault on grammar, the outsiders do their work fairly well. Anthony Trollope, the best delineator of life in a cathedral town had no personal knowledge of the life that he drew so well, and President WHEELER has not been harder on syntacticians than Piron was on grammarians, when he composed his famous epitaph on Olivet, who seems to have been given to the kind of study that President WHEELER began with, the study of accent.

Ce genre qui le charma,  
Et dans lequel il prima,  
Fut sa passion mignonne.  
Son huile il y consuma.  
Dans ce cercle il s'enferma  
Et de son chant monotone  
Tout le monde il assomma.  
Du reste il n'aima personne,  
Personne aussi ne l'aima.

Nothing could be worse than the fulfilment of the curse to which Piron alludes: 'Nec amet quemquam nec ametur ab ullo'.

To be sure, President WHEELER is not the only distinguished scholar that has lifted up his heel against grammar; and we, that are addicted to grammatical studies in the old-fashioned way, must comfort ourselves with remembering that Boeckh called grammar the *θριγκὸς μαθημάτων* of philology, nay, claimed in a subacid way that he himself was a 'leidlicher Abece-Schütz'—if I have got the adjective right. Indeed, I can hardly bring myself to believe that the great master would have sanctioned the crusade against the feeble folk who insist on knowing what the letter means before they let themselves be carried away by the spirit. True, even a grammarian is at times weary of the subtleties of other grammarians, and statisticians have been known to flout statistics, and to echo the words of Swinburne who says

in his Study of Shakespeare p. 5: 'For all the counting of numbers and casting up of figures that a whole university, nay, a whole universe of pedants could accomplish, no teacher and no learner will ever be a whit nearer to the haven where he would be'. Still all scholars must be grammarians to a certain extent; and there is no need of stirring the animosity of our waspish tribe. So I was surprised to find in the memoir that THEODOR BIRT has prefixed to the *Vorträge und Aufsätze* of the lamented IVO BRUNS (Teubner), sentences like these: 'Bruns war kein Grammatiker der auf Zetteln sammelt; er drang in die Werkstätte der Meister und leitete aus ihrem Ich das Werk ab das sie geschaffen. Er las die Alten wie man die modernen Autoren liest'. 'Auf Zetteln sammeln' is no crime. The card system is a mere convenience; it does not set up to be an intellectual Kosmos: and a careful sorting of facts may keep even a man of such rare endowment as was IVO BRUNS from making sad mistakes. As for the rest, it is mere phrasemongery. Unless a man is born to a wide range of languages, it is safer for him to treat modern authors as the grammarian treats ancient authors; although the gaiety of nations would be sadly eclipsed by the passing of many foreign scholars, who undertake to interpret English by going into the 'Werkstätte der Meister' unprepared.

In BRUNS's screed against Dionysios, though I must say that he is fairer than is the fashion toward that unfortunate *magistellus*, he says (S. 209): 'Dionysius rühmt sich, ein fein entwickeltes Gefühl für die persönlichen Nüancen im Stil der alten Autoren zu haben. Er könne in zweifelhaften Fällen, aus der Wirkung, die eine Schrift auf ihn ausübe, sofort erkennen, wer der Verfasser sei. Im Vollgefühl dieser Fähigkeit erklärt er von des Demosthenes Rede für Konon' eine Partie von ihr sei so durchaus im Stile einer bestimmten Rede des Lysias gehalten, dass, wenn diese beiden Werke zufällig ohne den Namen des Autors überliefert wären, man nicht sagen könne, welche dem Lysias und welche dem Demosthenes angehöre. Für den, welcher das Auge nicht mit starrer Ausschliesslichkeit auf das rein Sprachliche richtet, ist dies Urteil unbegreiflich. Dass Demosthenes die Fähigkeit des Lysias, der Sache immer angemessen zu reden, nicht besass, zeigt keine seiner Reden so deutlich, wie die für Konon. Eine Prügelei zwischen jungen Leuten ist hier zu einer Staatsaffaire in einer Weise aufgebauscht, die auf den Unbefangenen einfach komisch wirkt. Ich würde vielmehr sagen, wenn die demosthenische Rede unter Lysias' Namen überliefert wäre, könnte man aus der Sachbehandlung den Demosthenes erkennen'.

<sup>1</sup> Für Konon' instead of 'gegen Konon', κατὰ Κόνωνος, is an extraordinary lapse on the part of BRUNS, for which a parallel has been cited A. J. P. XIV 339, l. 10.



Without undertaking in this place to defend Demosthenes as I did thirty years ago in a series of papers entitled, *On the Steps of the Bema*, I will comment briefly on the sentence I have italicized above: 'Für den welcher das Auge nicht mit starrer Ausschliesslichkeit auf das rein Sprachliche richtet, ist das Urteil unbegreiflich'. In the first place I waive the question whether Dionysios was in dead earnest as to what he says about the possibility of confounding the speeches of the two orators. He had said very much the same thing about Isaios and Lysias: *De Isaeo* c. 2, *εἰ μή τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη καὶ τριβὰς ἀξιολόγους ἀμφοῖν ἔχων οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη ῥαδίως πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἶσιν, ἀλλὰ παρακρούσεται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς*. And then he goes on to show that they are as far apart as possible; so that I have no doubt that he took especial pleasure in pointing out to his classes the differences between Demosthenes and Lysias. Certainly they are plain enough even to one who fixes his eyes unwaveringly on the language alone and in fact, the passage is one of the test-tubes I have used more than once in the seminary to show the value of the analysis of style. Now if the short extracts given by Dionysios suffice for that purpose, how much more distinctly do the differences between the two orators appear when one compares this same Demosthenes LIV with Lysias III, both of them assault and battery cases. I have before me, as I write, a seminary exercise in which a mere beginner has established a baker's dozen of differences between the two speeches, most of them purely differences in the domain of language, so that BRUNS might have strengthened his condemnation of Dionysios by saying as Lord Chesterfield said of the man in the herald's office, 'The foolish fellow does not understand his foolish business'. But after all it is not a foolish business. The grammarian has some rights even over against the aesthetic impressionist, and the trouble with Dionysios is that his analysis did not go far enough, that he has left too much room for the *ἄλογος αἰσθησις*. And by his scorn of Dionysios' stylistic criticism BRUNS missed a chance of slaying the slain. I hold no brief for Dionysios—nor for any one else; but it must be remembered that in this very same chapter (Dem. 13) Dionysios emphasizes the *ἀναφαίρετος τόνος* of Demosthenes. Demosthenes is Demosthenes everywhere as Henry Irving is Henry Irving in every rôle. As for the absurdity of Demosthenes in lighter parts, as well speak of the absurdity of Aischylos in the satyr-drama. But whatever a man may think of Dionysios, every scholar will rejoice at the announcement that the long-deferred second volume, fasc. I of the Teubner ed. of the *Opuscula* by USENER and RADERMACHER has come to the relief of the student of Greek rhetoric. Nothing more urgently needed than a critical text of the *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*.

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Cousin says somewhere, 'The ideal life of a man of letters is one monument and a number of episodes'. My early ambition



was to become a man of letters.<sup>1</sup> My monument was to have been the Greek Life of the Second Century after Christ. But life shapes itself in its own way. I have become a grammarian and my monument is to be the Monte Testaccio of a philological journal. Still I have never lost my interest either in literature or in the period, and regret that I have only space for a *Brief Mention* of Professor ROBINSON ELLIS's instructive and entertaining lecture on the *Correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius*. Marcus has his admirers, and I should blush to reproduce my early notes on his Meditations and my gibes at the man whom I scrupled not to call in his own jargon a φιλοσοφίδιον and a φιλοσοφάριον. But Fronto's cause I was inclined to espouse, perhaps out of sheer contrariness. For Fronto has been badly treated. Every man whose heart is in the right place has a sneaking kindness for the author he edits, even if that author be a hopeless prig, like Persius, or an incondite writer, like Justin Martyr. But Fronto has had scant mercy shewn him even by his editors. True, some allowance must be made for the disillusionment of Mai's discovery. Historians of Roman literature had said to themselves, 'If we only had Fronto!' And when we had Fronto, or a specimen of Fronto, what? So they began to make epigrams on Fronto; and Naber, whose edition (1867) is still the latest critical edition, apologized for giving so many months to such a zany, such a 'fatuus' as Fronto. He admits, indeed, that Fronto was a good soul, but he sneers at what he calls 'decantata illa populi Romani felicitas sub Antoninorum imperio', warns us, quite unnecessarily, not to be deceived 'Frontonis elegantis et orationis putido ornatu', and considers the most valuable outcome of the whole collection to be the exposure of that weak brother, Marcus Aurelius. A charming contrast to this crabbedness is Gaston Boissier's sympathetic article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, published the year after Naber's edition, and while Professor ELLIS refrains from any estimate of Fronto's intellectual capacity, he has done good service to the memory of the good old African by his summaries and his translations. Surely after reading Professor ELLIS, no young student will consider the *Correspondence* a negligible quantity, even if he should have little sympathy with the gush of the letters. This gush, this overflow of affection, in which it is sometimes hard to tell whether the greater spilt is on the side of the master or on that of the disciple, reminds Professor ELLIS of the Sonnets of Shakespeare. In modern life such enthusiasm is more familiar to us in school-girl ecstasies for the beloved mistress, but this sort of thing seems to be traditional

<sup>1</sup> 'There seems little reason' says an irresponsible reviewer in the *New York Sun*, June 24, 1903, 'for the inclusion <in Trent's American Literature> of the names of scholars like Drisler and Anthon and Goodwin and Gildersleeve, whose purely literary baggage is of the slightest'. Is it not Voltaire who says: On ne va pas à la postérité avec de gros bagages?

in the Empire. Famous is the relation between Cornutus and Persius and the absurdly interjectional letter of Marcus to Fronto (II 3) is paralleled by the absurdly interjectional letter of Julian to Libanius (XIV) and Julian's letters to Iamblichos are so effusive that critics have thought them unworthy (*Essays and Studies*, p. 375) of the later emperor, a more masculine character after all than the earlier philosopher on the throne.

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The *Quatrains of Hâli*, a modern Hindu poet, whose real name, we are told, is Maulavi Sayid Altâf Husain Ansâri Pânîpati, have been edited in the Roman character with a prose translation by Mr. G. E. WARD (London, Henry Frowde). While they hardly deserve the transfiguration that the quatrains of Omar have undergone, one of them may be worth quoting, No. XVIII, which is intended to be a severe rebuke to hasty critics of standard text-books. Saith Hâli:

Set not good men down as bad, O my son!  
 If one gesture or half a gesture of theirs displease thee.  
 The fineness of a pomegranate is not spoilt to the taste,  
 If there should be inside it one or two pips rotten.

But, despite Hâli, I am naturally inclined to agree with the saying of Ecclesiastes about 'dead flies' and with Tennyson's deprecation of 'the little pitted speck in garner'd fruit'; and, moreover, I am suffering just now from a couple of typographical errors that disfigure for me hopelessly p. 229 of the current volume, where l. 9 for 'every' read 'my' and l. 10 for 'final' read 'first'.

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R. S. R.: Questions of metre and accent commonly breed extremists. Thus not long ago we had in several quarters a determined effort to eliminate 'ictus' from the Graeco-Roman poetry, as though we could not find the deviations we require from common speech equally well in the modulations of that 'poetry-reciting voice' of the ancients, that μέση κίνησις or πλάσμα which lies midway between song and speech (Aristid. Q. I p. 7, 25 M.; Quintil. I 8, 2)! Similarly Dr. J. J. SCHLICHER in his dissertation on the *Origin of Latin Rhythmical Verse* (Chicago, 1900) adopts a novel position. His views may best be contrasted with those of his former teacher, Wilhelm Meyer, whom he sharply chides for the admission that the supposed musical accent of the Romans became expiratory in the third century and capable of influencing Latin verse. Thus in Meyer's view the change from quantitative to accentual poetry was produced by some profound and far-reaching cause, but according to SCHLICHER this change belongs to the chapter of accidents and is due to secondary causes.

Dr. SCHLICHER seeks to show that the Roman quantitative system broke down first especially in the final syllables of words, and since the Christian iambic poets did not wish to give prominence to these dubious syllables by placing them under the verse-accent, they preferred, because of their scruples about *quantity*, to write *Fil pórtā Christi pērvīā* rather than *Portā Christi fil pērvīā*. The conscientious scruples about quantity which this hypothesis attributes to the Christian poets will seem to many wholly unwarranted by the facts, and even if they were well warranted, this explanation would leave the real difficulty untouched. For the question would still remain, *why* the final syllables became unstable in their quantity and were finally sloughed off altogether. Trivial causes apart, there is but one ultimate answer to this question and that is the answer which Meyer and Havet have given, viz.: The development of the expiratory accent destroyed the old Roman syllabic system. SCHLICHER, however, has not merely written a polemic upon the accent; he has done an admirable piece of work in tracing the several stages of the slow process by which quantitative poetry became accentual, and has made valuable contributions to technical knowledge at this point, while he has given the general reader an extremely interesting and clear account of the chief problems of Christian poetry. Since the dissertation is otherwise so complete, it is to be regretted that the author has not included more actual specimens of the popular poetry. Thus the lengthening of accented short vowels might well have been illustrated by a quotation of the well-known Pompeian graffito (CLE. 44):

Magi properares, ut videres Vēnerem.

. . . . .

Pompeios defer, ubi dulcis est amor.

Again, St. Augustine's famous *Psalmus contra partem Donati* is often under discussion, but how few classical Latinists have ever seen or read the 'Omnes qui gaudetis'!

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S. B. P.: An excellent piece of historical criticism is the paper on *The Politics of the Patrician Claudii* by Professor GEORGE C. FISKE of the University of Wisconsin, published in vol. XIII of the *Harvard Studies*. Our ancient authorities agree in representing the Claudii as ultra-patrician in their opinions and bitterly hostile to the *plebs*. Modern scholars have ranged themselves either with Mommsen who regarded the Claudii as champions of the *plebs*; or with Herzog who accepted the ancient view in the main with the modification that this *gens* desired to develop a plebeian state within the patrician; or with Nitzsch who maintained that the Claudii represented the trading and com-

mercial interests and therefore supported the *plebs urbana* against the *plebs rustica*. Professor FISKE agrees most nearly with Nitzsch, but corrects his view in certain points, and maintains that the two chief articles in the political creed of the Claudii were first "a persistent and inherited opposition to the policy of the tribunes, the champions of the *plebs rustica*," and second "the defence of the *libertini*". This conclusion is based upon a critical examination of all the ancient testimony upon the subject. The three most important members of the Claudian family were Appius Claudius, the reputed founder of the *gens* and consul in 495 B. C., Appius Claudius, the decemvir, and Appius Claudius Caecus the famous censor of 312 B. C., and it is therefore inevitable that Professor FISKE's arguments should be based very largely upon the traditional history of the first two. Scholars will differ widely in their estimate of the degree of credibility to be assigned to this record, and Professor FISKE will probably be regarded as too conservative by most. But while the evidence of a traditional family policy among the Claudii is not absolutely conclusive, the careful and rational treatment of the subject is worthy of all praise.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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Catulli Carmina; recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Robinson Ellis. New York, *Oxford University Press* (American Branch), 1904. 12mo, cl., 60 cts.

Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch. New sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a last gospel from Oxyrhynchus; ed., with translation and commentary, by B. P. Grenfell, L. W. Drexel and A. S. Hunt; with one pl. and the text of the "Logia" discovered in 1897. New York, published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by *Oxford University Press* (American Branch), 1904. 3-47 pp. il. 8vo, cl., \$1; bds., 40 cts.

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). Horace, his life, friendships and philosophy as told by himself, in unrhymed metrical translation, with the Latin text and appropriate illustrations from his works; including views of authorities on rhyming and other translation methods, with notes, comments and examples by Clarence Cary. New York, privately printed. For sale by *G. E. Stechert*, 1904. 215 pp. 8vo, cl., \$2 net.

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— The Republic. Bk. 4; tr. by Alex. Kerr. Chicago, *C. H. Kerr & Co.*, 1904. c. 59 pp. 12mo, pap., 15 cts.



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